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NEW TIMES

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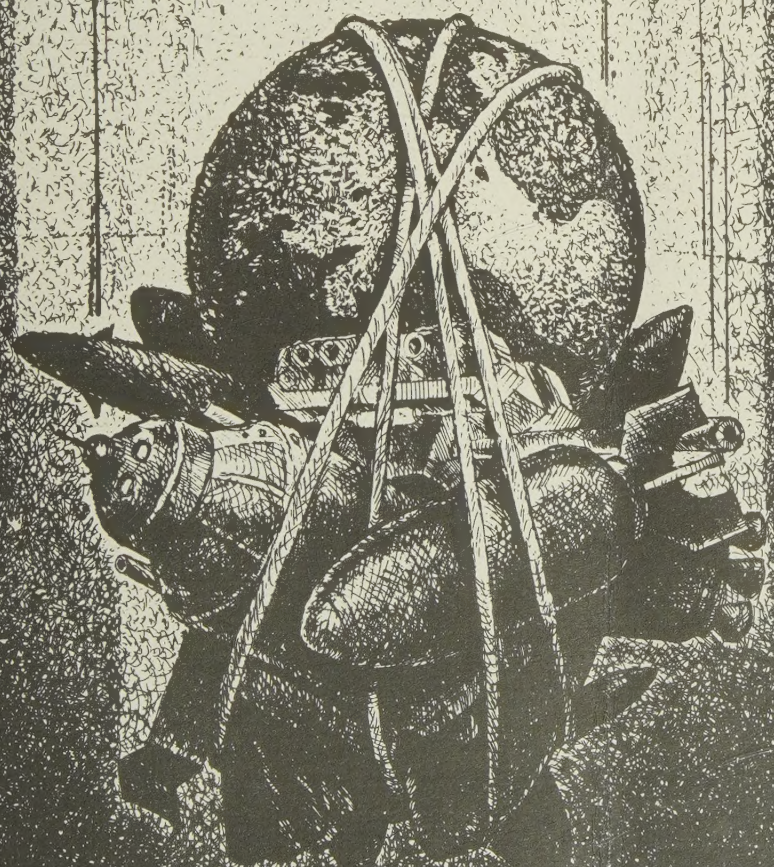

RID OUR PLANET OF ITS FATEFUL BURDEN

"When you are in Spasskoye, greet for me the house, the garden, my young oak tree, greet my homeland which I am not likely ever to see again." Thus in one of his last letters wrote Ivan Turgenev of his "beloved nest," the estate in Spasskoye-Lutovinovo situated in the very heart of Russia, near the town of Orel. Here he spent his childhood, to this estate he was banished by the authorities. To this spot with its rolling fields he hastened from Moscow, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Paris, London and Rome. Here most of his books were written or begun.

In 1976 a museum was opened in the manor house.

Avenues of lime trees, planted here in the beginning of last century, run down from the house to the pond on the shores of which the writer loved to linger. All his life he was deeply stirred by the poetry of the Russian landscape—the "old village garden full of rural scents, the wild strawberries, the birds dreaming in sunlight and shadows."

The museum is visited by thousands of admirers of Turgenev's writings every year.

His works are well known both here and abroad. Acquaintance with the writer's native parts gives one a deeper insight into his writings, helps us to learn more about his complex and unusual personality. This feature of Spasskoye was noted by Leo Tolstoi, who after a visit to the Turgenev estate on May 31, 1856, wrote in his diary: "His house showed me his roots and explained a great deal."

The old lime tree alleys are especially lovely in autumn.

Turgenev monument.

The wing and gallery have been restored to look as they did at the time of the writer's last visit to his homeland.

Text and pho
by K. Kokosh

THE INITIAL STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN

Interview with Soviet Premier NIKOLAI RYZHKOV by the West German Magazine Neue Gesellschaft—Frankfurter Hefte

Q. At its 27th congress the CPSU strongly condemned certain phenomena in the Soviet Union and promised changes. What has changed since then and what changes can we expect in the near future? Are people in the Soviet Union feeling the changes and do they accept them in a positive spirit?

A. The Party has done more than simply promise change. Firmly and consistently, it is fundamentally restructuring those aspects of our economic, public, social and other spheres of life which fail to measure up to today's requirements.

Of course, one should realize that no great period has elapsed since the congress, whereas the measures it announced are intended for more than just one year ahead. Consequently, so far we can only speak of the initial moves towards restructuring that have already been made. Let me list a few of the more important measures.

After the congress and following on its directives, the Central Committee of the Party and the government adopted major decisions concerned with many crucial aspects of scientific and technological progress: improving and modernizing the economic machinery in the agro-industrial complex, heavy and light industry, building and construction and the retail trade network, the rational application of resources, radically raising the quality of output, accelerated development of the material base in the social sphere, and a stepped-up campaign against unearned incomes. The Soviets of People's Deputies now play a greater role in deciding matters of socio-economic progress. A project to reform institutions of higher learning has been drafted. The purpose of these and other measures is to renew every aspect of life in our society. Understandably, a certain amount of time will be needed to implement these measures. But we do not intend to drag our feet.

We have already recorded the first beneficial results. Moreover, due to qualitative factors we are witnessing faster rates of economic development. In the first six months of 1986, over the period from January to June, the industrial output was 5.6 per cent higher than for the corresponding period of last year, though an increment of 4.3 per cent had been planned, while labour productivity went up by 5.2 per cent. Note that this was achieved before the measures implemented to technologically recondition and reorganize the economy had taken effect—in other words, it was largely the result of the altered attitude of people to their work.

Initial moves have been made to raise the quality of consumer commodities, improve food supplies for the population, and raise standards in the public and transport services.

The people are already reaping the benefit of efforts to eliminate alcoholism; the policy has now been consistently implemented for over a year. The incidence of cardiovascular disease has fallen, there are fewer industrial and transport injuries, and the divorce rate has dropped. Compared with the first six months of 1985, from January through June, sales of alcohol decreased by 37 per cent, while from the start of the current year, the population has spent roughly six billion rubles less on alcoholic beverages.

This answers your question as to how Soviet people are accepting the changes that are under way. They are themselves effecting these changes.

The interview was taken by Hans Schumacher, editor of Neue Gesellschaft—Frankfurter Hefte, and published in its September 22 issue.

The decisions taken by the congress and the prevailing atmosphere of high standards, veracity, creative searching and intolerance of stagnation and everything that impedes our advance have had a huge mobilizing impact on the Soviet people. Work collectives are now more active, their discipline, sense of responsibility and organization are better, and there are greater opportunities for initiative. Everybody is happy that there is more order in the country; the moral climate has improved. The wide publicity and openness has served not only to pinpoint difficulties and shortcomings, but also to indicate reserves and effective ways and means of forging ahead. In fact, it is this that should be considered the basic change. We are already seeing this change. However, we are far from overestimating the results. As Mikhail Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stressed in his Vladivostok speech, we have not yet achieved those qualitative changes which would really consolidate the tendency to faster growth. We are only beginning.

In a number of cases reorganization is slower than we would like it to be, than it could be. In principle this is because we cannot resolve problems that have accumulated over years in one fell swoop. The more so as we envisage the scale of restructuring as revolutionary. Then it must be noted that at the pivot of the entire process are not machines but human beings, each with his or her own psychology, mentality, and patterns of behaviour.

However, we will certainly achieve all we have planned. Such is the determination of the Party and the entire Soviet people. For this we need one indispensable condition which does not depend on us alone. That condition is peace. We have everything else we need, a detailed, concise programme of action, competent personnel confident in their powers and convinced that the ideas of socialism are right, a wealth of natural resources, and great scientific and technological potential.

Q. In political debates within Soviet society the concept of acceleration looms large. Does this mean that the Soviet economy, the Soviet society should advance faster? If so, how is this to be achieved?

A. Undoubtedly so. However, I would first like to note what conditioned the policy of acceleration. The new edition of the CPSU Programme, which the Party adopted at its 27th congress, puts forward major objectives geared to the communist perspective. They bear upon every aspect of life in our society: the economy, the social sphere where we are raising people's welfare to new and higher levels, politics, and the spiritual life. As a result of reform, we shall raise Soviet society to new and higher levels and take a historic move towards the highest phase of communism.

But we shall not be able to cope with these stupendous tasks without radically accelerating the country's socio-economic development. We interpret acceleration in its broadest sense, as the fundamental renewal of material and technical facilities through the application of the foremost achievements of science and technology, as better public and social relationships, profound changes in the content and character of work and the material and spiritual conditions of human life, and as a more vigorous public and political life.

Acceleration is not an objective for the remote future. It is becoming a constant factor in our development on the basis of which we shall simultaneously tackle such fundamental problems before our society as a rise in public welfare, the advancement of the country's economic potential, and the maintenance of its security.

Naturally, the economy is the basic point of application for acceleration. For decades the Soviet economy advanced dynamically and without crises. However, in the 1970s the rates of economic growth slackened. The process of social reform slowed down, with fewer resources being allocated to it than was necessary. Naturally, objective difficulties, such as the higher cost of resources obtained for the most part from regions difficult of access, crop failure several years running, and the slower growth of available manpower, due to the demographic recession following the second world war, were also felt. The military confrontation imposed by the U.S. and its allies also diverted considerable energy and resources. However, the basic reasons for the slackened rates go far deeper. The fact that extensive factors in economic development had to all practical purposes ceased to be useful and that it was now essential to concentrate on intensification and greater all-round efficiency in social production was lost sight of.

It would no doubt be appropriate at this point to note that we assess our failings—of which we are fully aware—against our own scale of values. Thus, over the past 25 years a new level of welfare has been reached in the U.S.S.R. A total of 54 million flats have been built. People are now far better fed and dressed. Sales of private cars, furniture, TV sets, domestic refrigerators and other durables have multiplied. We have introduced a universal compulsory secondary education system. The number of specialists with higher education has quadrupled. In doctors per thousand of population the U.S.S.R. leads the world.

Nonetheless, the rates and quality of growth did not satisfy the Communist Party. After the CPSU Central Committee's plenary meeting of April 1985, which placed the idea of accelerating the country's socio-economic development on the agenda, these matters were discussed intensively by the Party membership and the Soviet press. These discussions assumed particular importance before the 27th CPSU congress when its draft documents were made public. They showed that acceleration had the backing of the entire people and the congress adopted it as the Party's long-term strategy. The basic ways and means of implementing this strategy were also charted. As for the nature of the current discussion of these problems, we are concerned to define concrete practical ways and means of implementing the process of acceleration.

We must first of all emphasize that we see the acceleration of the country's socio-economic progress as a multifaceted, all-embracing process, incorporating more than just higher rates of economic growth, even though these are indeed of primary importance for us today. The substance of the acceleration strategy is the new quality of growth as envisaged in the comprehensive intensification of production on the basis of scientific and technological progress, in the restructuring of the economy, effective forms of management, organization and stimulation of labour, in short the acceleration of every positive process in the economy. Naturally, this is expressed in higher rates of economic growth.

We also have a clear idea of the basic ways and means of implementing the process of acceleration. The first is scientific and technological progress. When drafting the 12th state plan for the country's socio-economic advancement, we analyzed in depth the relevant possibilities and the correlation between the technical quality of the items we produce, the technologies and techniques we use and top world standards. We took sober stock of where we were technologically on a par with, or even ahead of, the best foreign standards and where we seriously lagged behind. This enabled us to provide for the purposeful allocation of resources to just those sectors of production which will enable us to achieve a broad breakthrough towards the frontiers of techno-

logical progress relatively quickly. To this end the emphasis is basically on promoting our engineering industry as the branch where the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution are translated into material results.

Naturally, before this produces results, we shall need time and substantially increased investment. We have, moreover, laid emphasis on the technical retooling of operative production and on drastically raising the qualitative standard of our products and performance so as to obtain results within the period of the current five-year plan.

I have cited just one approach to acceleration. As was noted earlier, this task will be tackled in a comprehensive manner across the board, encompassing every sphere of economic and social life.

Q. In the U.S.S.R. the "human factor" is at the moment critical. Moral and material incentives are being employed to turn it to advantage. However, will this be possible if in recent years people have grown too accustomed to a more modest way of life, with a quieter private personal aspect? And generally, are there enough people who can undertake to implement the immense tasks that you put before them? Who, in fact, will carry them out?

A. I must say that the "human factor" has always played a most significant role in our society's development. Without the high level of ideological conviction and the enthusiasm of the broadest masses we would have failed to defend our revolution during the early years of Soviet power, collectivize farming, industrialize, win the bitter battle against fascism, and raise our country to its present level of socio-economic development. Our working people feel that as fully-fledged members of society they are responsible for its future. They don't feel that they are blindly doing somebody else's bidding because their collective spirit is high and their creative approach vigorous.

You are probably familiar with our periodicals. Hence there is no need to note what our factory workers, collective farmers, office employees, scientists and cultural workers are writing about the most burning, urgent basic issues related to restructuring social life and the economy. That reflects the deep-seated bond between the individual's interests and society's interests under socialism.

Yet we do not want to idealize the situation. In our country the "human factor" amounts to nearly 280 million people, each with his or her own destiny, experience, tastes, habits and moods. Undoubtedly we do have people who are passive, smugly content with life, and thus have no stake in any radical change. How many of them are there? Naturally, we don't have statistics of that order. But I can confidently state that we have incalculably more people who wish to carry out the tasks the Party has set, effect a turn in the tide, and implement the acceleration programme. For these, stagnation of thought and action goes against the grain. It is on such people that the CPSU and the Soviet government rely in the effort to accomplish society's goals.

The Party predicted that the restructuring and the efforts to overcome conservative bureaucratic red tape would be no easy matter. Practice is now bearing this out. There are many cases where work collectives encounter essential difficulties and obstacles in reorganizing work. It is even so that some managers, who boldly think and act in keeping with the demands of the time, fail to rally support from their superiors and the local authorities. Hence today the CPSU, as the ruling party, and the Soviet government are boldly promoting new people who can think creatively to high office.

Generally speaking, we are observing the dialectical process of the struggle between the new and the old. While fully backing everything new, we are fully aware that there is still very much to be done for the new to prevail. Here the human factor is crucial. We are taking a broad range of measures to galvanize this factor, and impart to it what I would call a new quality. We are convinced that we will be greatly helped by what you have noted as improvements in the system of encouraging highly productive labour, in accordance with the bedrock principle of socialism—"from each according to his ability—to each according to his work."

However, matters go further than that. This may be illustrated by our present emphasis on unswerving observance of the norms of social justice, on our grand objective of more fully and more rapidly satisfying the population's increased social and daily needs which the 12th five-year plan has put on the agenda. Note the congress's directive which calls for the fullest development of popular socialist self-government, which includes democracy in production, the attention paid in our country to the political, professional and cultural education of the working man. In short, the substance of the current restructuring may be expressed as orientation to the human being and his work.

As a result there is emerging in the country a socio-psychological atmosphere which gives no grace to those who seek to work in a slipshod way or generally shirk under cover of references to what you have defined as "modest" needs.

Q. How do you assess the role of culture in the development of Soviet society? What can art do and what can it not do? What are relationships like between the state, the Party and the realm of culture? What has changed in Soviet cultural policy since the 27th CPSU Congress?

A. It is hard to answer these questions in a couple of words. To isolate the main point, I would make the following observations.

The growing role of culture, including literature and the arts, is logical for a socialist society. This stems from the humanitarian nature of our social system. Yet, spiritual culture not only reflects the health of society, and the level of its socio-economic potential, but is also itself most instrumental for social progress. The rising general educational level, the professional expertise and know-how of the working people, the Soviet citizen's increasingly rich inner world, all most energetically serve to expedite Soviet society's advance towards the goals that have been set.

Culture has a special role to play in the attainment of the crucial objectives of our development, by which we mean the creation of a harmoniously and comprehensively developed personality benefiting from the spiritual wealth of society. It also plays an immense role as regards promoting socialist democracy, establishing the principles of social justice, and arousing social and personal initiative.

In short, the development of spiritual culture is directly linked with the aims of fully realizing the people's creative potential, shaping the socialist way of life, having spare time put to good use and, eventually, coping with the historically significant task of getting the country into the forefront of social progress.

An exhaustive reply to your question as to the relationship between the Party, the state and the domain of culture is furnished in the CPSU Central Committee's political report to the 27th congress and in the speeches by the heads of the unions of creative workers and the cultural personalities delegated to the congress.

As was indicated at the congress, the Party regards the central task of its cultural policy as that of opening the doors as wide as possible to enable people to display their abilities and lead a still fuller and richer life. It behoves literature and the arts to contribute energetically to the effort to mould the new Soviet man as patriot and internationalist. In fact, that is the yardstick for assessing the creative efforts of cultural workers, writers and artists. "Neither the Party nor the people stand in need of showy verbosity on paper, and petty dirty-linen washing, or time-serving and unprincipled utilitarianism. What society expects from the writer is artistic innovation and the truth to life which has always been the essence of real art," Mikhail Gorbachev said at the 27th CPSU congress.

In our country there is universal support and acknowledgement for the efforts of writers, artists, composers and other workers in the arts that are closely associated with the life of the people, boldly treat the contradictions and complexities of social evolution, and fervently condemn conservative routine, and everything that impedes social progress.

In keeping with Leninist tradition, the Party and the state treat talent jealously and respectfully, exhorting cultural workers to produce work that will raise honest, steadfast people aware of their civic duty. The world, including the F.R.G., is familiar with Soviet culture, whose prestige derives from just such works of art.

In that sense there are no taboos for art. However, in our country no support is forthcoming, nor will it ever be, for works that peddle in any form war, violence, hatred of other peoples, slander against socialism, pornography, and the propagation of other human vices. You know better than I do that capitalist society suffers from the uncontrolled character of these ugly phenomena in its culture. Moreover, we have always opposed and will always oppose drabness, triteness, cheap sensationalism, and hackwork.

We cannot tolerate the supplanting of art by erzatz culture, as is to be observed nowadays, for instance, in Western Europe, where you have inferior cliché-ridden literature, cinema, variety and visual arts pouring in from over the Atlantic, undermining the vast heritage of Europe's national cultures, attempting to replace the permanent values of world culture, pandering to base feeling and diverting people from life's real problems. This perniciously affects the younger generation, breeding cruelty by extolling the cult of brute force and inculcating mental stereotypes, racism, chauvinism, and the nonacceptance of progressive ideas. Once familiar with Soviet culture you will realize that such things are profoundly alien to it.

As for the cultural policy of the Party and the state after the 27th congress, it cannot be separated from the line the Party has drafted to expedite all-round socio-economic development.

We see increasing democratization in culture, in its administrative bodies, and the affairs of the associations of creative workers. The recent national congresses of film workers and writers demonstrated their more mature sense of social responsibility. All who closely follow life in our country will have noticed in the domain of culture those fruitful processes of increased activity and creative independence on the part of the organizations concerned. This is reflected, more specifically, in film studios shedding tutelage in their choice of scenarios, the endorsement of pictures for distribution and in the artistic councils at the theatres now enjoying more rights in repertorial selection, the assessment of acting potential and approval of productions. The basic achievement here is the growing creative vigour shown by the workers in our multinational culture, literature and art, their productive involvement in the great affairs with which the entire country is currently preoccupied.

One must also note the reorganization that has begun in many sectors of culture. All Soviet citizens are debating aspects germane to the further development of the country's higher and specialized secondary education systems. We are reforming secondary schools and the system of vocational and technical training. We are consistently augmenting the material facilities available in the socio-cultural domain, and are ridding ourselves of the habit of underestimating this aspect, to which we were so long addicted.

Let me illustrate. Over the 12th five-year-plan period we intend to build 6,000 clubs and houses of culture in rural areas, or nearly twice as many as were opened throughout the previous five-year period, plus about 40 large concert halls, etc., etc.

In conclusion to this question, I would like to emphasize that the entire wealth of experience accumulated in building socialism demonstrates culture's growing influence for good on our social life. Soviet culture is laying the foundation for raising future generations in the spirit of lofty humanitarian ideals.

Q. What specifically has to be done to ensure that every worker, at whatever level, should be personally interested in improving the quality of his work and his output?

A. In our country the personal interest of the worker in improving the quality of production and his performance on the job is predicated primarily on the basic principle of socialism of which we have already spoken. In this principle are expressed the social justice of our society, the substance of the wage policy of the state, the direct dependence of wage levels on the quantity and quality of the work of the collective as a whole and of each individual worker.

At the present time a number of important measures are being taken to increase the effectiveness of this principle.

First, the introduction of new wage rates and salary levels which are to increase by 25-35 per cent on the average over the present. Priority here will be given to personnel whose work has a direct bearing on the acceleration of scientific and technological progress, improving the quality of production and performance. This category includes primarily a wide range of skilled workers engaged in the introduction of the latest equipment and technology, scientific researchers, designers, and technologists.

Second, introduction of various forms of additional remuneration to workers for their personal showing in improving the quality of the work done. Also additional remuneration to workers for improving their skills, to office employees for high standards of performance, and diverse bonus systems. If the quality of the work, the output declines, the additional remuneration and bonuses can be decreased or cancelled.

Our wage policy is instrumental in accomplishing such important economic tasks as the development of the rich resources of areas difficult of access and with adverse climatic conditions, like the North, Siberia and the Far East. Those who work in these areas are naturally entitled to higher pay.

An important factor in heightening personal interest in the results of labour is the consistent democratization of management in all spheres of social production. The promotion of team work, the establishment of councils of work collectives, and other forms of democratization of management make it possible to overcome tendencies towards wage levelling, to

provide greater incentives and heighten the prestige of workers who achieve the highest quality standards. In promoting the team-work form of remuneration, we take into account the important role the team plays under socialist conditions in cultivating a sense of collectivism, common responsibility for the job on hand and mutual aid. By independently assessing the labour contribution of each of its members, the team exerts an important educational influence, stimulating a sense of common interest, singleness of purpose and respect for majority opinion.

The rights of the work collectives will be further expanded by the Law on Socialist Enterprises, now being drafted, under which practically all questions relating to production and social development will be decided by the collectives themselves.

We have elaborated and are already giving effect to a policy aimed at linking improvement of the material conditions of the working people, of the work collectives, still closer with the quality, the quantity and—what is most important—the end results of their production activity. This applies not only to wages, but also to improvement of housing conditions, satisfying the requirements in cultural and recreational facilities, kindergartens, etc. For this purpose a larger part than hitherto of the net returns of the work collectives will remain at their direct disposal.

Q. When will the working people of the Soviet Union be able to enjoy the fruits of their increased labour efforts?

A. In your question, wittingly or unwittingly, there is the suggestion that a time gap exists between the achievement of results in the Soviet economy and their utilization to resolve social problems, to improve the conditions of life of the working people. This is not so.

The entire substance, the primary and ultimate purpose of the strategic course towards accelerating the development of science, technology and production is to raise the well-being of the Soviet people to a qualitatively new and higher level. And this objective will be realized systematically, in step with the growth of social production, the heightening of its effectiveness and, above all, the productivity of labour.

In other words, acceleration of the development of the national economy will make it possible to multiply our resources channelled to social purposes, to broaden the scale and hasten the solution of social problems. And this is not a matter of the distant future.

We do not intend to wait until the end of the five-year plan to carry out the social objectives set in it. Let me back this with the following examples. Wage increases for doctors and other medical personnel will begin this year, and for personnel of cultural and educational institutions, a little later. Next year the introduction of a new system of payment for teachers and other pedagogical personnel of schools and preschool institutions will be completed. In the course of the five-year-plan period, as I have said, wage rates and salaries will be increased for people employed in material production. As a result of all these measures, the earnings of 90 million people will be increased in the current five years. It could not be otherwise in a society where the fruits of increasingly productive labour belong to the working people and only to them, and where labour determines the material and social status of the individual.

New substantial steps will be taken in the current five-year period to increase state assistance to families with children. For example, paid leaves granted working mothers for the care of infants will be extended from one year to a year and a half. Pensions are to be increased for a considerable number of veteran workers. We have already spoken of the connection between remuneration for labour and its results. But we know that increasing money income is not the end in itself. It signifies improved well-being only if it is accompanied by increased consumption. Therefore during the 12th five-year-plan period there will be a notable improvement in the level and structure of consumption, the working, living and recreational conditions of the population. I must mention that there is at present a veritable boom in the building of country cottages, every year more than a million garden allotments are given to working people. The land in our country is free of charge, and the state grants loans (at 0.5 per cent interest) for the building of country cottages.

In short, our state will continue consistently to provide solid social guarantees of the constitutional rights of the members of our society to work, to education and vocational training, free medical care, security in old age and in the event of illness, to housing and many other social benefits.

In conclusion, I should like to underscore something we take for granted: the direct effect of improvement of the conditions of life of the working people on the achievement of better results in production. Higher skills, a high degree of labour activity and conscientious work are important preconditions of the acceleration of the socio-economic development of the country.

Q. To what extent do the economic successes of the Soviet Union, and perhaps of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) as a whole, depend on the degree of détente between the military blocs? Are arms control and disarmament preconditions of good economic results in the future?

A. All of the CMEA countries have drawn up and are giving effect to plans for dynamic social and economic development and the improvement of the well-being of their peoples. We naturally conceive of the realization of these constructive plans only in conditions of peace. This determines the general principle of the foreign policy of the Warsaw Treaty states—to do everything to strengthen peace, to work for relaxation of international tension, for an end to the arms race and for disarmament. This principle found reflection in the message to the NATO countries and to all countries of Europe adopted by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states at its Budapest meeting in June this year and containing a programme for the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

In Soviet foreign policy this line of action has been given practical embodiment in the programme advanced in the January 15 statement of the CPSU General Secretary for the stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, in the idea, endorsed by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, of creating a comprehensive system of international security, and in other concrete proposals aimed at reversing the dangerous trend of developments, at ending distrust and achieving rational cooperation among all states. Evidence of the readiness of the U.S.S.R. to take definite steps towards terminating the nuclear arms race was its recent prolongation, for the fourth time, of its unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions.

As you see, this year alone the Soviet Union has advanced a whole series of major initiatives towards reducing international tension and scaling down the dangerous military confrontation of the two social systems. We are waiting for our negotiating partners to display the necessary political wisdom

and to demonstrate, not in words but by deeds, their readiness to seek joint constructive solutions of the most urgent problems of our time.

The realization of the Soviet peace proposals would have a favourable effect on the economic development not only of the Soviet Union but of the European continent and the world community as a whole. It would lead to the creation of an altogether new climate for international economic cooperation, to the intensive development of this cooperation in the interests of all nations. All countries, and primarily neighbouring European countries, would gain by this.

That the arms race has a highly adverse effect on the economy is axiomatic. Disarmament would make it possible not only to remove the threat of destruction hanging over mankind, but also to channel enormous material and intellectual resources to peaceful economic development. I should like to add, however, that hopes of being able to retard the economic progress of the socialist community by stepping up the arms race and extending it to outer space are doomed to be disappointed. History shows that the socialist countries are capable of accomplishing their economic development objectives and at the same time strengthening their defence capability.

Q. What role do you assign to the CPSU in the renewal and reform of the Soviet economy and society? Can it be said that the CPSU will, on the one hand, not concern itself with minor everyday questions, and, on the other hand, will seek in this way to strengthen its leadership and control functions?

A. As you know, the CPSU is the ruling party and its status as such is written into the Constitution. And above all, its leading role is determined, of course, by its ability to give expression to the real will of the working people, its ability to elaborate an effective strategy for the country's socio-economic, political and spiritual progress. It is important in this connection to emphasize that the Party, its Central Committee, were the initiators of the big changes now under way in Soviet society. Today in its everyday work the CPSU proceeds from the premise that it is in duty bound to affirm by its actions its political and moral prestige, its position as the leading and directing force in the life of the country. Let me draw your attention to the following words from the political report of the Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the Party: "There is no vanguard role of the Communists in theory; it is expressed in practical actions."

The leading role of the Party does not entitle it to lay claim to an exclusive, privileged position. The Communists have no privileges, Lenin said, they have only additional obligations. Unless the right to be where it is most difficult and dangerous is a privilege. Under the Rules of the CPSU, a Party member is doubly responsible—both to the Party and the state—for a breach of Soviet law.

Now for the second part of your question. The CPSU has always devoted and always will devote much attention to the economic sphere as the foundation of the life of society. Political leadership of the economy is one of the Party's basic concerns. This does not mean that in the exercise of this function the Party should substitute for economic bodies or exert petty tutelage over them, as sometimes happens in the provinces and against which the Central Committee of the CPSU has warned. In other words, the Party is called upon to exercise leadership of the various branches of the national economy by the methods intrinsic to it—political methods. The consistency with which this course is being steered is evidenced by the numerous steps taken towards developing the independence of economic bodies and primarily enterprises and amalgamations. This is evident also in the widening of the powers of the Soviets of People's Deputies, the heightening of their responsibility for all spheres of life in their respective territories.

At the same time this does not mean that the Party reserves for itself the "big issues," leaving the "petty matters" to others. We persistently stress today that there are no petty questions in our—including the Party's—life and work. Here everything is important. And the task the Party has set itself is precisely to ensure by political methods that the line it has worked out should be consistently implemented in everything—in big things and small, in the long-term and current projects undertaken by society.

Q. The unfailing optimism with which Soviet political leaders approach scientific and technological progress has been noted in Western Europe. Has anything changed on this plane since the accident at Chernobyl?

A. The Soviet Union wants to see the achievements of the present scientific and technological revolution used more quickly and more fully for the good of all peoples, to see these achievements serve to overcome such phenomena still existing in the modern world as hunger and disease, poverty and illiteracy.

We believe that the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station, like the catastrophes in space and other spheres where bold steps have been taken towards mastering the powerful forces of nature, do not testify to the weakness of human intellect and will. Human progress has always involved quest and risk. This is the law of the development of civilization. The fact that the deeper we probe into Nature's secrets, the greater the risk is another matter. This has faced all countries with serious problems in the sphere of scientific and technological progress. Broad cooperation and interaction on an international scale could go a long way towards helping to solve these problems. We are for the development of such cooperation both in the matter of safety in nuclear power development and in other areas. An instance of successful cooperation was the drafting at an international conference of government experts at the IAEA of conventions on the speedy notification of nuclear accidents and on the rendering of assistance in the event of such accidents. These conventions will be part of an international regime of safety in nuclear power development, as proposed by the Soviet Union.

There is no doubt that, notwithstanding the difficulties and the occasional failures, scientific and technological progress will continue. There is a big future also for nuclear power development without which it is difficult to imagine the advance of the world economy at the present stage. The peaceful atom is already proving very useful to humanity. Some 350 atomic reactors are functioning today in different countries, and more are being built and will continue to be built.

However, it is perfectly clear that nuclear power development as well as other advanced branches of the economy must be promoted in conditions offering maximum guarantees of safety for people and the environment. All the more essential is it to rule out all possibility of the results of scientific and technological progress being used for the deliberate destruction of human life. Problems relating to the elimination of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons are in the present circumstances of first-rate importance. Their solution would help radically to improve the entire world situation. This is our country's position and it was set forth with utmost clarity in the recent statement by the CPSU General Secretary over Soviet television.

Q. There has latterly been a certain lessening of optimism in our country with regard to the consequences of scientific and technological progress. This applies not only to nuclear power development but also to genetic engineering, and the effects of scientific and technological progress on the environment. What is your view on these questions?

A. I repeat, scientific and technological progress cannot be stopped. But undoubtedly it is essential to find such technical solutions which, while moving humanity forward, would not at the same time harm it. We are deeply convinced that today it is impossible to halt atomic power development, for instance. What has to be done is to remove the negative phenomena associated with this development. And this is something that must be done by all countries. A vast scientific and technological potential has been accumulated in the modern world and humanity has every possibility of controlling the forces of nature released by scientific progress. This applies also to protection of the environment in the broadest sense of the term. After all, no single country will be able to do anything here. Here is one example: there is more pollution of the environment in the European part of our territory than anywhere else in the country. This is understandable. A large part of our industry is concentrated here, besides which there is the industry of the European countries next door. But there is pollution also on Kamchatka where there is no particularly large-scale industry. Therefore it is obvious that since there are no political frontiers to the environment it must be protected by joint effort. We are ready to cooperate on a broad scale in this sphere as well.

Q. What openings do you see for cooperation also with the Western countries in the peaceful use of nuclear energy?

A. The Soviet Union is a strong advocate of broader and closer international cooperation in the peaceful use of the atom. The important thing is that the energy of the atom should really be the possession of all mankind, that it should serve peace and constructive endeavour, exclusively.

Our country is making a substantial contribution to the development of international cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy, on both a bilateral and multilateral basis, within the framework of the IAEA as well.

The U.S.S.R. has broad commercial relations in this sphere with the socialist and also with many Western and developing countries. We supply to a wide range of countries equipment for atomic electric power stations, nuclear materials and services in the enrichment of uranium, we cooperate in research, experimental and design projects, and the training of specialists, and we send Soviet specialists abroad to give technical assistance.

The Soviet Union has tremendous practical experience in this sphere. After all, we were the first country in the world to use the atom for peaceful purposes. We have a powerful and completely self-sufficient industry for the production of atomic power equipment which includes such giant enterprises as Atommash. This enables us not only fully to meet our own requirements and the needs of fraternal socialist countries, but also to help other countries to promote their atomic power development. This of course applies exclusively to the peaceful atom.

The Soviet Union intends to continue to increase mutually beneficial cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy with all interested countries, including those in the West. A good basis for this is the rich experience and technical potentialities our country possesses for the use of the atom for the benefit of peace.

Mention might be made in this connection of such areas of cooperation as the pooling of efforts for the creation of a new generation of more economical and, most importantly, safer reactors, cooperation in achieving thermonuclear synthesis and the construction, by the combined efforts of several countries, of an international thermonuclear reactor.

Q. Permit me to ask you what prospects there are for economic cooperation between Western Europe and the Soviet Union. The possibility of establishing joint enterprises by various concerns, firms and foreign trade amalgamations of the socialist countries is being widely discussed at present. What are the prospects here?

A. About the possibilities of cooperation between Western Europe and the Soviet Union I should like to say the following. We are for extending such cooperation in every way, and being realists, we are well aware that in this age of rapid scientific and technological progress and far-reaching international division of labour it is impossible to live in isolation. Our country is not some sort of isolated society and we consider it essential to make full use of the advantages of the international division of labour. This was made quite clear by the 27th Congress of the CPSU and by subsequent documents of the Communist Party and the Soviet government.

Our country stands for the further expansion of economic ties, for a search for new forms of economic cooperation.

We know that there are business circles in the F.R.G. which are interested in closer economic ties with the U.S.S.R. Such ties have indeed become traditional. But at the same time, the F.R.G. is following in the wake of the American policy of bans and embargoes. In our opinion, the purpose of such proscriptions is not to prevent the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries from receiving up-to-date technology of military or dual purpose. It would be naive to assume that we would wish to import some elements for our military technology from West European countries. As we see it, by imposing such bans the U.S. is raising obstacles to the expansion of economic ties between the socialist and capitalist countries of Europe. Whether this is of advantage or disadvantage to Western Europe is for you to judge. We stand for full, equal economic cooperation with our neighbours. I have seen the COCOM lists. To go by them, only scrap metal can be sold to the Soviet Union. That of course is nonsense. We shall never agree to buy second-rate goods or obsolete technology from our West European partners.

From this standpoint I should like to stress that we cannot understand why the F.R.G. agreed to participate in the American SDI programme. Can the number of jobs that could be provided through extension of cooperation with the U.S.S.R. be compared in any way with the number provided by participation in SDI, under which all the best orders will be concentrated in the hands of the U.S. monopolies? Moreover, the U.S. acquired an additional lever in pursuing its policy of obstructing economic ties with socialist countries.

Speaking of new forms of economic ties I would single out two. First, cooperation in production. I believe there is a broad field here for activity on both sides; our country has many big enterprises and amalgamations with great scientific and production potential and a wealth of experience. At the same time we have a good idea of the F.R.G. economy and we believe that there are many areas in which such cooperation could be developed in our mutual interest. Our ministries and enterprises have been instructed accordingly. Of course, this process must proceed on a balanced basis.

Second. Joint enterprises. I wish to make it quite clear that we do not propose to change the basic principles on which our economy rests. We are deeply convinced of its funda-

mental advantages. Dozens of examples could be cited to bear this out. Therefore the only question is how this new form of cooperation can be most effectively incorporated in the socialist economy.

In other words, we are for not confining ourselves to trade relations but for going over to the establishment of joint enterprises. Of course the Soviet share in them must be bigger than the foreign—no less than 51 per cent. It goes without saying that our West European partners will be able to take out their profits. But it is also obvious that these enterprises will have to abide by Soviet laws. The output of the joint enterprises could be divided among the shareholders. It could be exported also to third countries. These are some general observations. The details can be worked out more thoroughly. We believe that this form of cooperation will benefit both our economy and the foreign partners and give a spur to international cooperation. We believe that it will be expedient to begin with small enterprises. Judging by information received, for instance, from the F.R.G., many firms are interested in this form of cooperation.

You know that our economy offers a very capacious market and a wide field for mutually advantageous activity. One could hardly find another such market anywhere. Besides, foreign business circles consider us a very reliable partner. This is our rule. Therefore, I want to stress again, the new form of cooperation is promising. This is so from the political standpoint as well. The economy has a considerable influence on the political climate. Those who trade, who promote cooperation do not fight one another.

Q. Successful headway in international economic cooperation depends in many respects on the relations between the main world powers—the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. My question is this: what chances are there of a new summit meeting between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. and what political results should such a meeting yield?

A. As you know, before the meeting between Comrade Gorbachev and Mr Reagan in Geneva there had been no contact at summit level between the two countries for nearly seven years. Contacts were resumed in Geneva. We naturally hoped that after that meeting political relations between the two states would develop more constructively, and that this would affect the international climate. Our country took its obligations very seriously. The CPSU, the Soviet leadership thoroughly analyzed all the aspects of its foreign policy activity. As a result, within only a month and a half after the Geneva meeting—on January 15—Comrade Gorbachev made a statement containing a whole complex of proposals for disarmament and for strengthening international security. The world hoped that after the Soviet Union's constructive proposals the U.S. would begin to respond in the matter of resolving the most urgent issues of our time. But this did not happen.

Subsequently, too, the political leadership of the Soviet Union repeatedly advanced important peace initiatives. In other words, it did everything to get the question of international security and disarmament off the ground. However, our negotiating partners did not reciprocate. At the same time they constantly raise the question of a new summit meeting between Comrade Gorbachev and Mr Reagan. In principle we are for such a meeting, but we are deeply convinced that it must yield definite practical results.

At present our competent representatives are working in contact with the Americans, and if some questions are found on which positive results could be achieved, the matter of a new summit could be raised. We have certainly advanced enough proposals for a constructive discussion. Take if only the question of ending nuclear tests. As you know, on August 6 last year we proclaimed a moratorium and have prolonged it several times, now until the end of this year. This is a very serious step on our part, one that cannot be dismissed offhand. After all, we cannot disarm unilaterally. In the meantime the Americans have carried out 18 explosions. To our last proposal they gave a negative reply almost immediately. This is not evidence of a serious approach to such a fundamental issue as international security. Incidentally, the position on this question of the ruling quarters of the F.R.G. is also rather surprising.

* * *

In conclusion I would like to ask you to convey my best wishes to the readers of your magazine and to voice the hope that our conversation will prove to be another step towards better understanding between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the F.R.G.

NEW TIMES

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Our nuclear age may well prove the shortest (and the last) stage of human civilization, for the burden of armaments is becoming too heavy for our planet.

Cover by I. SMIRNOV

THE MAIN OBJECTIVE

The collection of signatures to the Hiroshima and Nagasaki Appeal demanding the elimination of nuclear weapons continues in Japan. The anti-war activity of the Japanese Communists is discussed by MITSUHIRO KANEKO, Chairman of the CC Secretariat of the Communist Party of Japan. VADIM ZAGLADIN writes about cooperation between the CPSU and the CPJ in the struggle against the nuclear threat.

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GUNSHOTS IN SANTIAGO

On the eve of the 13th anniversary of the military coup in Chile an attempt was made on the life of dictator Pinochet. Responsibility for the attempt was claimed by the September 4 Group which belongs to the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front.

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TRUST AND SINCERITY

The role played by small countries in resolving global problems and the prospects of Soviet-Finnish cooperation are discussed in an interview granted New Times by Finland's Minister for Foreign Affairs PAAVO VÄYRYNEN.

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WEST BERLIN

For many years West Berlin was one of the world's "hot spots." Tension there twice reached a critical point. For a report on the present situation in West Berlin see

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CHINA AND DISARMAMENT

What is China's approach to the most crucial issue of today?

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Europe and the Soviet Moratorium

The Soviet Union's decision to prolong its unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions until January 1 next year has met with a worldwide response, contrary to the initial predictions of some Western information media that Moscow's hopes for a positive reaction, say, in Western Europe, would be disappointed. (These gleeful prognostications were all the more strange considering that it would have been plain common sense to approve of the Soviet move as a good example for other nuclear powers, and primarily the U.S., to follow.)

Let us take a closer look at the reaction to the Soviet decision in Europe, where the level of military confrontation is especially high and which has long since been turned into a gigantic nuclear stockpile. It is already crammed with American first-strike weapons, and more of them are being tested at the Nevada proving grounds, although new medium-range missiles offer no guarantee of greater security for the inhabitants of the Old World, as it is often claimed. What Europe needs above all is a more or less reliable safety catch on nuclear weapons. Our moratorium is such a safety catch. Common sense tells us that it is in the interests of all Europeans to move forward from a unilateral moratorium to a bilateral and then to a multilateral moratorium. In a word, the attempts made at times to make it appear as if the termination of nuclear tests is a matter that concerns only the Soviet Union and the United States, and has only an indirect bearing on the Europeans are patently unwarranted.

> **Political leaders and the mass media in the West are finding it more and more difficult to play down the unilateral 18-month moratorium, and the U.S. arguments in favour of testing have lost much of their appeal, and have ceased to impress the public.**
>
> **From Mikhail Gorbachev's answers to questions from the Czechoslovak newspaper Rude Pravo**

The Soviet Union's Warsaw Treaty allies fully realize where their real interests as European countries and the interests of peace in general lie. They strongly support the Soviet decision even though—and this is a fact that should be underscored—the ending of nuclear tests by the U.S.S.R. has a direct bearing on their defence capability and security. The statements of the leaders of the fraternal socialist countries and public opinion in them clearly highlight their awareness of the joint responsibility for the destinies of peace.

In the Western part of the continent many leading press organs have carried commentaries striking a more or less positive note. The Paris Le Monde, for instance, observes that the Soviet Union "does not intend to undermine the hopes for a new period of détente, despite the difficulties encountered in conducting a dialogue with Reagan."

But there are also no few instances of an altogether different order. The F.R.G. Frankfurter Allgemeine, for instance, self-assuredly maintains that "no Western politician should welcome such Soviet initiatives." Why? Because, it turns out, they are merely diversionary manoeuvres in what the paper calls "public diplomacy" or "war of words." Evidently the Soviet action, which not only was welcomed by world public opinion, but focussed attention on the need for urgent measures to terminate the nuclear arms race, is not to the taste of the paper's publishers. In this sense the "manoeuvre," to use the terminology of Frankfurter Allgemeine, is truly a diversionary move in the sense that it diverts attention away from the preparation of war.

Many prominent Western politicians have not followed the advice of the newspaper and those who share its views. The Soviet decision has been given a positive appraisal by leading personalities in neutral countries like Finland and Sweden, and a number of NATO countries—Spain, Belgium and Greece. The Netherlands Defence Minister has also welcomed the Soviet move. Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher of the F.R.G. considers it an action facilitating agreement on a total ban on nuclear weapons tests. CDU deputy floor leader in the Bonn Bundestag Volker Rühe has urged the West to respond constructively to the Soviet initiative. And Willy Brandt, chairman of the F.R.G. Social Democratic party, voicing the opinion of the delegates to the party's recent congress, welcomed Mikhail Gorbachev's statement and criticized the negative stand taken by Washington and some of its allies. Moscow's decision was also supported by the British Labour Party.

There are also other opinions. The British Foreign Office, for instance, found nothing better than to express "regret" at the Soviet decision. This could of course be attributed to British subtle sense of humour were it not for the exceptional seriousness of the problem and the dramatic situation on the world arena.

Incidentally, the stand of Britain and France, both West European nuclear powers, is particularly important. Considering the present relative strength of the nuclear arsenals of the Soviet Union and the United States, on the one hand, and the rest of the nuclear powers, on the other, Moscow does not insist on an immediate general moratorium, but primarily urges Washington to follow its example. At the same time, the Soviet decision ought to act as a restraining influence also on other countries possessing nuclear weapons.

No one expects these countries to be the first to embark on nuclear disarmament. However, the European peoples rightfully expect them at least not to aggravate the situation. It would be still better, of course, if the United States' North Atlantic bloc allies, in the spirit of the much-vaunted equality of the members of the alliance, were to exert some pressure on their transoceanic partner. If they did so, the latter would perhaps display greater readiness to agree to check the nuclear arms race rather than take steps that give it added impetus.

Some West European quarters advance all manner of arguments to

Camouflage net.

Cartoon by I. Smirnov

minimize the significance of the Soviet moratorium, or even to misrepresent its real purpose. Some try to present the unilateral moratorium as nothing short of an obstacle to the achievement of real agreements on disarmament and, specifically, on the termination of all nuclear explosions.

This is an absurd, outrageous argument running counter to common sense. It is impossible even to imagine how abstention from nuclear testing on the part of the Soviet Union could be detrimental to the security interests of the West European countries. It would be interesting to know how they would react if Moscow resumed testing. Nevertheless, F.R.G. Defence Minister Manfred Wörner says, without batting an eyelash, that the Soviet moratorium does not make for the reduction of nuclear armaments.

It is also alleged in Western capitals that the Soviet moratorium diverts attention from problems that truly agitate the minds of the West Europeans—the removal of medium-range nuclear missiles, the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces, and the elaboration of effective confidence-building measures. Such contentions can only be intended for the uninformed. For in the Soviet leader's August 18 statement the moratorium and general termination of nuclear tests are examined in the context of regional and universal security. And has not the Soviet Union proposed the complete elimination of the Soviet and American medium-range nuclear missiles deployed in Europe? Did not the Soviet leader underscore the comprehensive measures proposed by the Warsaw Treaty countries for the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals? Did not his statement create a favourable climate for progress at the Stockholm conference? Thanks to the constructive position of the socialist countries that conference made headway towards agreement on confidence-building measures in the military sphere.

Or take the contention advanced by some West European leaders that the Soviet moratorium does not hasten the total and general termination of nuclear testing, inasmuch as it allegedly does not provide for verification.

How far can dishonesty go! A short time ago U.S. scientists installed verification devices on Soviet territory. Incidentally, these devices have already registered a nuclear explosion—not in the U.S.S.R., but in Nevada. Authoritative American and West European experts have gone on record that available technical devices are capable of registering even the least powerful (down to 0.1 kiloton yield) nuclear explosions.

The value of the Soviet initiative consists precisely in the fact that if the U.S. joined in the moratorium this would be the simplest and easiest way of halting the further sophistication of nuclear weapons and thereby bringing agreement on a total ban on tests nearer. This, then, would facilitate the complete elimination of these deadly weapons, which is exactly what Moscow is urging.

Many in Western Europe see the Soviet proposal precisely in this light. The American International Herald Tribune deplores the failure of the United States' European allies to support its position on the moratorium (incidentally, without any effort on Moscow's part to drive "wedges in the Atlanticist setup"). The newspaper complains about Norway, Greece and Denmark, for instance, not agreeing with the U.S. contentions as regards the difficulty of verification of any nuclear test ban agreement. The Europeans, the paper writes, believe the U.S. Administration should seek negotiations with the U.S.S.R. also as regards SDI and other aspects of the arms buildup.

In a word, if West European public sentiment can be judged by the numerous statements, mass actions and resolutions of diverse organizations, as well as by the stand taken by many governments, Western Europe does not want nuclear explosions. It wants agreement on their prohibition and regards the Soviet moratorium not as a propaganda gambit, but as a real step towards that end.

The Europeans unquestionably have every right to demand that the U.S. make use of the epochal chance offered by Moscow. All that is needed is that the White House respect the opinion of a substantial part of its own compatriots and the wishes of its West European allies. After all, there must be some limit to the arrogance of the U.S. policy makers!

Truly titanic effort is required of the peoples of the Old World to check the forces of evil. Control over nuclear explosions is not the problem: there is no difficulty about that. The real problem, but one that is imperative to solve, is how to bring under control with utmost speed those who by their actions are creating a direct threat to Europe and to the whole world.

A. LEBEDEV

LUIS CORVALAN IS 70

Chilean Communist leader Luis Corvalan was 70 on September 14. Throughout his life Camarada Lucho, as he is affectionately known, has been a model revolutionary who has dedicated himself to the fight for the interests of the working class and the whole people of Chile.

He joined the Communist Party of Chile in 1932 when 16. In 1958 he was elected its General Secretary.

Luis Corvalan has signally contributed to the effort to draft and implement his party's policy of uniting all Chilean progressives. This resulted in the formation of the Popular Unity coalition of left-wing parties, followed by its victory at the presidential election in 1970 and the formation of a people's government under Salvador Allende.

Following the fascist military takeover of September 11, 1973, Luis Corvalan languished for three years in Pinochet's jails and concentration camps, from which he was released thanks to a surging tide of international solidarity. Under his guidance his party has worked out and is successfully putting into effect a policy of mustering national popular resistance to the dictatorship, toppling the tyranny, and reestablishing a democratic system.

In the congratulations extended to Luis Corvalan on his 70th birthday, the CPSU Central Committee wished him the best of health and every success in his work to establish freedom, democracy and social justice in Chile. For his services to peace, democracy and social progress and his contribution to firmer friendship between the Soviet and Chilean peoples, the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet has awarded Luis Corvalan the Order of the October Revolution. ■

Trust and Sincerity

At the beginning of September a group of Soviet journalists visited Helsinki at the invitation of the Foreign Ministry of Finland and was received by Foreign Minister PAAVO VÄYRYNEN. At the request of New Times, the minister gave the following interview to TASS political analyst Yuri Kornilov and our special correspondent Dmitry Pogorzhelsky.

N.T.: The significance of the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions is now the subject of lively discussion the world over. On the eve of the 40th, jubilee session of the U.N. General Assembly President Mauno Koivisto underscored the utmost importance of the termination of nuclear tests. What is your attitude to this problem?

Väyrynen: Finland has always been strongly in favour of the conclusion of a treaty on the total prohibition of nuclear tests. We regard as useful every action that facilitates the achievement of this objective. General renunciation of nuclear testing would be a significant step towards a treaty on the total prohibition of nuclear tests. We welcomed the statement of CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev announcing the prolongation by the Soviet Union of its unilateral moratorium until the end of this year. We hope that this will help to put an end to all nuclear tests.

N.T.: Keen interest was evoked in Europe by the Warsaw Treaty countries' proposal for the reduction of conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals. How do you evaluate this new move on the part of the East?

Väyrynen: The Budapest Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty countries was carefully studied in Finland. The proposals for the reduction of conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, that is, in the Helsinki Conference area, impart new meaning to, and concretize, one of the controversial armament problems on our continent. In urging Europe to seek to ensure its security at the lowest possible level of armaments, we naturally have in mind both nuclear and conventional armaments. We hope that the Warsaw Treaty countries' appeal will hasten the achievement of agreement on the limitation of armaments on this continent.

N.T.: The coming session of the U.N. General Assembly, due to open shortly, is to discuss important issues. How does Finland view the prospective deliberations? And how would you evaluate the role of the small countries in the present complex world situation?

Väyrynen: We are realists and naturally understand that the main responsibility for peace and security on our planet rests with the big powers. This point was made also at the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva last year.

But the small countries too play an important role. It should be borne in mind that they make up the majority in the United Nations and their voice is loudly heard at General Assembly sessions. Finland is consistently working in the U.N. for peace, détente and international cooperation, and will continue to do so.

The all-European process opens particularly good opportunities for the small countries. In it all countries are equal and decisions are taken by concensus. It is precisely within the framework of this process that all countries, irrespective of their association with one or another bloc, can make a substantial contribution to the achievement of positive results.

We are well aware of our responsibility and have correctly assessed the weight we carry on the world arena. Latterly, the role of the small countries, especially the neutral and non-aligned, in the all-European process, has grown. An instance of this is the Stockholm conference, their contribution to which has been duly recognized by other countries, in particular by the Soviet Union.

N.T.: It is in place to recall that Finland was one of the initiators of the all-European conference which ushered in the entire Helsinki process. What in your opinion should be done to give added impetus to this process, considering that the Stockholm conference is nearing completion and the Vienna meeting is in the offing?

Väyrynen: Finland's interest in the Helsinki process has not diminished. As one of the neutral coordinators of a working group at the Stockholm conference we are seeking to ensure its positive outcome. We hope that it will be possible to begin, in keeping with the terms of reference, the examination of disarmament questions directly at the conference. Finland is preparing thoroughly for the next meeting of the participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Vienna both on national level and the level of broad contacts with other conference participants. We want the Vienna meeting to be marked by an open discussion free of confrontation of all aspects of the all-European process and hope that the meeting adopts a resolution on the balanced continuation of this process.

N.T.: We are aware of the interest evinced in Finland in the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. This question is dealt with in a relevant report issued by the Foreign Ministry of Finland, and recently it was discussed at a meeting of the foreign ministers of the Northern countries. What in your opinion are the chances and ways of achieving this objective?

Väyrynen: The idea of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe was first advanced by President Kekkonen in 1963, and in recent years it has been steadily gaining support in the North European countries. This is reflected in the detailed report on this problem just prepared by our ministry. Finland is continuing its traditional efforts in this respect. We have activated our contacts on this question with the governments of the other countries of the area. The prime task now is to agree to set up a working group at expert level to study the question.

N.T.: What is the present state of relations between Finland and the Soviet Union and what are the prospects for the future?

Väyrynen: These days we are again and again turning to the life and work of the late President Urho Kaleva Kekkonen. The foundations of Finland's foreign policy, which he laid together with President Juho Paasikivi, remain as strong as ever. In our activity we constantly proceed from them.

An essential element of the relations between Finland and the Soviet Union is mutual trust, confidence as regards the intentions of the other side, the sincere striving to build ties on the basis of friendship and good-neighbourship. Relying on this basic trust, we have created by joint efforts a system of broad mutually beneficial cooperation between our two countries with

different social formations. This has significantly enriched the economic and cultural life of both countries, and become an important component of the European system of security and co-operation.

The central role in our relations is played by the Finnish-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of 1948. Its third prolongation, unaltered, in 1983 until the beginning of the next century is convincing testimony to the long-term, lasting significance of this document. The sides thus confirmed their determination to pursue their stable, time-tested and consistent policy in respect of each other. Thanks to the treaty the Finnish-Soviet frontier has become a frontier of durable peace, and our relations excluded from the sphere of possible international speculation. As a result of the certainty of security afforded by the treaty, we have been able to concentrate on the promotion of practical cooperation, in which, as I have already said, we have achieved substantial results. The treaty and all its provisions remain as timely as ever and reliably guarantee the development of Finnish-Soviet ties.

A particularly valuable component of our bilateral relations are contacts between leaders. At the meeting between President Mauno Koivisto of Finland and CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in September 1985 both sides underscored the importance of preserving stable relations. I personally highly value the possibility of open, confidential exchange of views with the statesmen and other representatives of the Soviet Union.

On the whole, cooperation between our countries is making steady headway all along the line. Since the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between Finland and the Soviet Union some 150 other treaties and agreements have been concluded, which is a reflection of the breadth and multiformity of our ties. It is noteworthy that ever wider sections of society in both countries are taking part in the practical development of our relations; cooperation has become the concern of the whole people. It is the best form of contacts between neighbours that trust each other.

With the passage of time new questions naturally arise. At the present moment economic problems have come to the fore. We have a great deal of experience in overcoming the difficulties encountered in our cooperation, and we are firmly determined steadily to strengthen our relations. This gives me grounds for optimism as regards the future of Soviet-Finnish relations.

N.T.: What problems must be resolved first of all to promote trade and economic cooperation still further?

Väyrynen: In this sphere Finland and the Soviet Union have laid a solid groundwork and scored signal results. Trade has reached a substantial level, especially considering the dimensions of Finland's economy. It is in this framework that the economic cooperation problems facing us at present should be examined. It cannot be denied that some complex problems have risen.

The decline in the price of oil causes imbalances in trade. The natural way to maintain the balance is to increase Soviet deliveries to Finland. It seems, however, that despite all efforts it will hardly be possible to increase imports sufficiently to balance the trade turnover. And this will make it necessary to have recourse to temporary expedients to maintain trade at the maximum level.

Economic cooperation must, of course, be promoted both by the traditional means and by evolving new ideas. I must note that the most important thing now is to ensure balanced trade so as not to affect the groundwork laid by joint efforts over the years.

N.T.: You intend to visit Moscow at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee towards the end of the year in the capacity of leader of the Centre Party. How would you appraise the contacts and cooperation between our two parties?

Väyrynen: We laid the foundations for these contacts immediately after the war, but they did not materialize until the early 1970s. The Centre Party considers contacts to be very important, for in this way we can make our contribution to strengthening and developing relations between our countries. On the other hand, they afford an opportunity for exchange of views with representatives of the CPSU on international issues. We consider contacts with the CPSU important also for our party and, I dare say, for Finland as a whole.

CHILE

Joining Forces Against the Dictatorship

GASTON VARGAS, Chilean journalist

This year Pinochet did not celebrate September 11. The 13th anniversary of the bloody military coup which brought him to power in 1973 was marked by an atmosphere of gloom. The phoney demonstrations the authorities staged in Santiago involved mainly civil servants and the relatives of the army officers upon whom the dictator relies and fooled no one. Neither the enormous pictures of Pinochet, the slogans and sallies against the left-wing opposition, Christian Democrats, and the Catholic Church, nor the proclamation of the tyrant "president for life" could conceal the bad case of nerves afflicting his entourage.

Indeed, only four days earlier an attempt had been made to assassinate the leader of the regime. A group of armed men attacked the presidential motorcade heading for Santiago from his suburban residence, El Melocoton. Five bodyguards were killed and another 20 wounded. The despot himself escaped, to appear on television with a bandaged hand only six hours later when he had recovered from the shock.

The assassination attempt was the work of the September 4 Group of the Patriotic Front, which bears the name of Manuel Rodriguez, the legendary guerrilla who fought the Spanish colonialists during the 1810 war of liberation. The secret police failed to ensure the dictator's personal safety. Risking their lives, the militants sought to gun down the man they consider the "main stumbling block on the way to the restoration of democracy."

Immediately after the attempt it was not clear who was responsible for it. There were suspicions that it could have been stage-managed by the dictator himself to vindicate the ferocious reprisals against the dictatorship's opponents.

The left-wing coalition of the Popular Democratic Movement had reported the dictator's plans to proclaim a state of siege and even stage-manage an attempted coup as early as August 25. However, other views were also aired, more specifically, that the CIA and some army officers had supposedly sought to rid themselves of the dictator and instal in his place another figure-head, more convenient for the Washington Administration.

A statement issued by the September 4 Group was circulated from the underground in Santiago on September 10

and subsequently made public in Mexico City and Buenos Aires. The statement said: "Chile and the world know that Pinochet assumed power after shelling the presidential palace of La Moneda and slaying the constitutional President Salvador Allende and his staff. In the 13 years of tyranny, thousands of Chileans have been murdered, decapitated or burned alive. The criminal arm of the Pinochet terror has reached out to other countries to do away with the dictator's opponents as was the case with General Prats and Orlando Letelier." [General Prats, former commander-in-chief of the Chilean army, was assassinated in Buenos Aires on September 30, 1974, while Orlando Letelier, former Foreign and Defence Minister and ex-ambassador to the U.S., was killed in Washington on September 21, 1976.]

Taking advantage of the abortive assassination attempt, Pinochet launched his plan to crush the democratic opposition. A state of siege has been proclaimed in addition to the earlier promulgated state of emergency. The regime has every intention of suppressing popular action, which assumed particularly forceful expression in the nationwide strike of last July 2-3 and the nationwide protest campaign of September 4-5. The scale the popular movement assumed in July did not alarm only Pinochet; it also unnerved Washington, as was illustrated by the subsequent series of hasty visits to Santiago by representatives of the U.S. Administration and the Pentagon.

After the assassination attempt Pinochet ordered his thugs from the National Information Centre, his secret police, ruthlessly to suppress the regime's political opponents. Time and again their mutilated bodies have been found in the streets of Santiago. Pinochet's latest victims include the journalist Jose Carrasco Tapia, Professor Fernando Vidarte Zuzaga Martinez, electrician Felipe Rivera Fajardo, accountant Abraham Muscabit Eidelstein, Cecilia Piña, a girl murdered in the township of La Victoria, and Miguel Leal, son of a political prisoner.

The Christian Democratic Party, the most influential right-of-centre opposition party, is being harassed. In response to its leadership's call for "peaceful action," the police raided the homes of party president Gabriel Valdes and Andres Zaldivar, former president of the Christian Democratic International.

The hundreds of prominent trade union, political, and civic leaders jailed include German Correa, chairman of the Popular Democratic Movement, his deputy, the priest Rafael Marotto, and Patricio Hales, a member of the coalition's national council, as well as the Socialist leader Ricardo Lagos, former president of the Democratic Alliance opposition coalition.

Terror has also been unleashed against the Catholic Church. Three French missionaries were arrested for "subversion" and beaten up. They were expelled from the country along with two U.S. priests.

One of the priests, Pierre Dubois, a Frenchman, interviewed by Antenne 2 television on his return to Paris, said that violence reigns in Chile. The poverty of the working people is appalling, he said. Instead of taking steps to solve urgent problems, the authorities resort to terror tactics and any activity aimed at relieving the sufferings of the Chileans and rendering them moral help is branded as subversion and punished.

Pinochet clearly wants as few witnesses as possible to his crimes. He terrorizes not only the national press, but also correspondents for foreign news services. He has ordered the closure of a whole number of independent newspapers and other periodicals.

Still, despite the terror, most Chileans have not succumbed to the atmosphere of fear. The September 10 funeral of the journalist Jose Carrasco spilled over into a mass anti-Pinochet demonstration. On the following day, September 11, hundreds of Chileans converged on Santa Ines cemetery in Viña del Mar, where President Salvador Allende is buried, to pay tribute to his memory.

Neighbours and chance passersby frustrated an attempt by thugs hired by the authorities to abduct the lawyer Luis Toro, who is on the staff of the Solidarity Vicariate of the Chilean Church. In many neighbourhoods and localities the inhabitants are throwing up barricades and forming self-defence groups against the attacks of the tyrant's hirelings.

The Human Rights Organization, the Chilean College of Journalists, the National Coordinating Centre of the Trade Unions, and the leaders of opposition political parties boldly expose the terrorism of the authorities and urge action against the dictator. In its September 8 declaration, the Popular Democratic Movement called on all democrats "to rally round and demand an end to the reprisals and the immediate repeal of the state of siege."

Both journalists and diplomats have noted the reaction of the command of the Fifth Army Division in Punta Arenas to the killing of the journalist Carrasco. General Luis Danus, commander of the military district, qualified it as "an unjustifiable murder," while Brigadier Gonzalez Vergara, the division's commander, expressed "vehement disgust at the killing of the journalist in the capital" and publicly denounced it.

The Communist Party of Chile has strongly condemned the regime's brutal reprisals against the opposition. It circulated a statement calling for the unity of all the anti-dictatorship forces on the basis of agreement among the opposition groups.

As soon as the terror let loose in Santiago became known, a flood of dispatches from different countries reported the indignation over the reprisals undertaken by the Pinochet regime. Romulo Leon, a Peruvian MP of the ruling PAP party, declared: "When human freedom and rights are trampled on by a dictatorship the people are entitled to resist." Pinochet's crimes are being castigated the world over, in Latin America, Europe, Asia and Africa. A Week of Solidarity with Chile was held in the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Committee of Solidarity with Latin American Peoples voiced support for Chile's democrats and confidence that they would win.

Chile has become a veritable volcano. Pinochet is resorting to every means in his arsenal to remain in power. But despite his brutal reprisals, the people are proceeding with their stalwart struggle against the dictator. The popular nationwide demonstrations of September 4 and 5 were keynoted by the motto: "All together, spare no effort to struggle against the dictatorship until it is deposed." This call is rallying an increasingly large following in Chile. ■

Army patrol in Santiago.

APP—TASS photo

In Defence of the Right to Life

● REPORT FROM BERLIN

The capital of the German Democratic Republic these days is truly the capital of the working people of the whole world. On September 16 the Eleventh World Trade Union Congress opened in the Palace of the Republic situated in the centre of Berlin. Attended by delegations of 433 trade union organizations of 154 countries on all continents, it is the most representative forum in the history of the labour movement.

The salient feature of the present congress, sponsored by the World Federation of Trade Unions, which has a membership of 210 million, is the presence at it of the representatives of trade union organizations adhering to a wide range of political orientations. About two thirds of the delegates represent trade union centres not affiliated with the WFTU. Each of them has its own orientation, its own aims and priorities, but they all were brought to Berlin by a common awareness of the identity of the tasks facing the working people of the world at the present crucial stage in history.

The prime imperative is the redoubling of efforts in the worldwide struggle to prevent a nuclear catastrophe. This is the central problem of the day. It is possible to fight for the basic human rights only by safeguarding peace, for if a nuclear war were to break out, the whole of humanity would face destruction—the exploited and the exploiters, the employed and the jobless alike. There would be no one left to lay claim to the right to work. Hence the right to peace must be defended above all.

Realization of this grim fact is the keynote of the deliberations at the congress. In the course of the debate the strategy of joint action by all trade unions of all countries, the socialist, capitalist and developing countries, in all areas of public life, and primarily in the anti-war struggle, is given concrete shape.

In the four and a half years since the Tenth Congress held in Havana the world situation has seriously deteriorated as a result of the actions of the imperialist powers, above all the United States. The arms race started by international reaction aggravates the economic crisis, intensifies capitalist exploitation of the working class, peasantry and all other sections of the working people. As a direct consequence of war preparations an offensive is waged against the social gains won by the working people in the course of long years of struggle, the workers' living standards are falling, and inroads

are being made in the already truncated democracy of bourgeois society. The conditions of the working masses in the developing countries are rapidly worsening.

All these problems facing the world trade union movement were thoroughly examined in the report of the WFTU General Secretary Ibrahim Zakaria. They are now being discussed at plenary sittings and in the working committees of the congress. Trade union leaders are setting forth their positions and advancing proposals on ways and means of resolving the cardinal problems facing the working people everywhere. This mosaic of opinions, concepts and approaches adds up to impressive picture of the strength and solidarity of working men, a programme of struggle for peace, the right to work, freedom and social progress.

Keen interest was evoked by the speech of Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party and Chairman of the State Council of the G.D.R., who spoke about the contribution made by the republic's working people to the struggle for peace and their proletarian solidarity with their fellow workers in all other countries.

Speaking at a plenary sitting, the head of the Soviet delegation, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Central Council of Trade Unions Stepan Shalayev said: "Not so long ago when speaking of the defence of the interests of the working people we had in mind primarily wages, living and working conditions, and social guarantees. And that was natural. But today as never before these day-to-day interests come to a focus in a truly universal problem—the problem of the preservation of life itself on earth."

Anti-war actions of diverse contingents of the working-class movement are gaining momentum. More and more support is being given the Soviet peace initiatives aimed at the creation of a comprehensive system of international security and ridding the world of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. These initiatives are consonant with the trade unions' watchword: "Working people of the world for a world without wars." The peace initiatives of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries are a reflection of our socialist morality, our sense of responsibility for the fate not only of our own peoples but of civilization as a whole.

What is needed now is practical united action. There is no task more urgent, more high-minded and humane than that of building the unity of the working people and their trade unions. This is one of the most important tasks of the Eleventh World Trade Union Congress.

L. YELISEYEV
and V. TSOPPI
our special correspondents

A WAR VETERAN'S VIEW

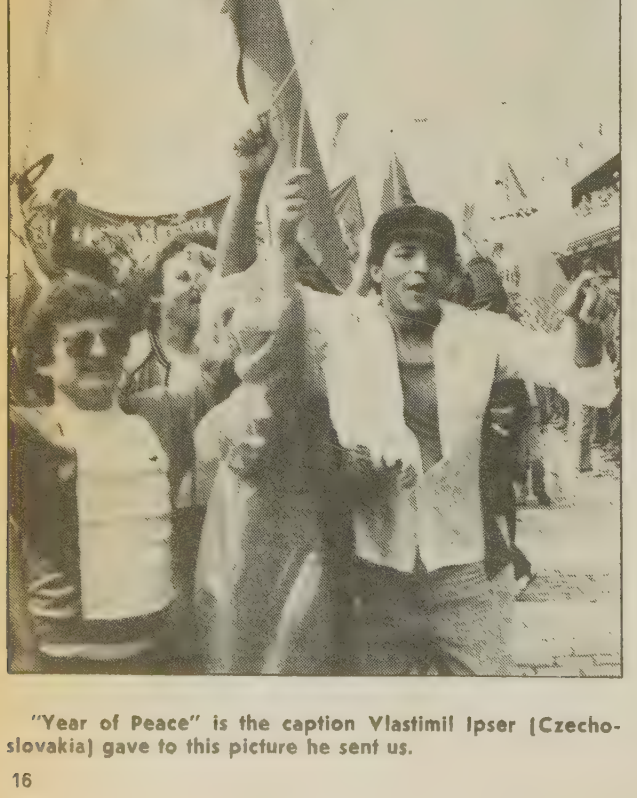
A Start Must Be Made

I am writing to appeal to the leaders of the NATO countries which allowed the American nuclear weapons to be deployed on their territories. World War II ended long ago, but people like myself who were crippled by it are fated to suffer to the end of their days from wounds and sickness. Not for a moment can we forget its horrors, and hence we realize more keenly than anyone else that no one needs wars. What I cannot understand is how the governments of the NATO countries could have forgotten the lessons of the war so quickly, and why they cannot come to some agreement among themselves about staying the hand of those who want to unleash another world war. Why is it that in all other spheres of human endeavour—science, the arts—there is progress, but no progress whatever in the thinking of political leaders? Why do some Western leaders continue today to think exactly as their great-grandfathers did before the first world war?

I live in Kiev Region, a little more than 100 kilometres from the nuclear power station where the accident occurred that shook the whole world. That accident was a practical demonstration of the terrible danger presented by the atom. But the release of radiation from an atomic electric power station is a trifle compared with the explosion of even a single nuclear bomb of medium yield. And can you imagine what would happen if American nuclear missiles were to be launched at our country from your territory? Have you thought about the level of radiation this would cause in Western Europe or about the fate of the survivors there? Strictly speaking, you have targeted your missiles not only at us but at your own peoples as well. Try to think in a new way without deceiving yourselves and the public by assurances that in a nuclear war someone will manage to survive. The same fate awaits everyone—the attacker and the attacked. The only way out of the situation is for those who are responsible today for life on our planet to sit down at the negotiating table. Above all, to stop perfecting nuclear weapons, which means to ban nuclear tests. This would be the first step towards the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

V. MARCHENKO
Belaya Tserkov, U.S.S.R.

A READER'S CONTRIBUTION



"Year of Peace" is the caption Vlastimil Ipser (Czechoslovakia) gave to this picture he sent us.

OPINIONS

We Must Be Strong...

I am an American and I don't know about other countries, but here people are concerned primarily with the security of their own country. America must remain strong because strength is the only thing that counts in this world. I am not an expert in nuclear matters, but I believe in our President. I believe he knows what is good for the nation. And if to safeguard the security of Americans we have to continue the tests in Nevada or send weapons into outer space I as a taxpayer see no reason to object.

Linda EVANS
New York, U.S.A.

Dangerous Paradox

In our newspapers one comes across the curious view that it is far more important to do away with nuclear weapons than to stop testing them. Hence, they say, the moratorium on testing, which the Soviet Union has again prolonged, does not mean much. Holders of such views forget that tests are needed in order to perfect nuclear weapons. To end testing would mean halting the continuous process of modernizing nuclear arsenals. After which it would be easier to move towards their gradual elimination.

Willy SMITZ
Düsseldorf, F.R.G.

DISSEN VIEW

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David HUTCHINSON
Newtownabbey,
Northern Ireland

THE ROOTS OF THE ULSTER PROBLEM

Dear Mr Hutchinson,

We do not think that the article in our journal about the bankruptcy of the Northern Ireland Assembly to which you refer can be regarded as "unfriendly" towards the majority of the population of Northern Ireland. It was prompted by our concern for the fate of all those who live in a state of constant anxiety in Ulster, both Catholics and Protestants. We do not presume to offer advice, we are well aware that there is no simple solution to the problem of Northern Ireland.

Permit me to recall a few facts, not for your benefit, Mr. Hutchinson, but for our other readers.

From the beginning of the 12th century the Irish were the object of devastating raids from neighbouring England and Scotland. The Irish are Catholics, and when in the 16th century Protestantism became the established religion in England the persecution of the Irish increased. They were deprived of the right to vote, they were forbidden to bear arms, to sing their native songs, and even to own more than one horse. It was in those distant times that the time bombs of skilfully whipped up religious strife were planted.

When, 65 years ago, after the uprising of the Irish patriots, the British colonialists were forced to retreat, they claimed their "pound of flesh." From the body of Ireland they cut off a slice in the north, and in such a way that the overwhelming majority of the population were Protestants, mainly Unionists, i.e., those who favoured close union with Britain. Throughout these years the time bombs planted by the London politicians have been going off, now less noisily, now with a deafening roar. The conflict is religious only on the surface. In reality it is a manifestation of the traditional London policy of "divide and rule."

London's present policy of crude interference is, in our view, a continuation of that policy.

Here I would like to emphasize that we condemn terrorism whether on the part of the Protestant ultras or the Irish Republican Army militants.

Do we then see any light at the end of the tunnel? We do. The way to it lies through radical social and economic reforms, by ending inequality and the trampling of democratic liberties and human rights. It lies through the unity of the working masses who today are divided by the barbed wire fence of religious prejudice.

V. ZHITOMIRSKY
our department chief

Worthy Example

It is with a feeling of the greatest respect and pride that my family regards the Soviet people who have shown the whole world the real meaning of the words "patriotism" and "love for the national flag." There is no doubt that a nation, which has had to wage a war several times on its own territory and has won these wars, has thus demonstrated above all its vitality and staunchness and is capable of showing other peoples the way to happiness and prosperity.

I should like to convey our warmest greetings to the whole Soviet people.

Felipe MENDES BOREL
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Aggressiveness Is Alien to Socialism

I would like to comment on the views expressed by Wolfgang Schmider of Frankfort on the Main in your issue No. 28. Had he made a more careful study of history, I believe he would have avoided repeating the imperialist contention that socialism is aggressive. Imperialist propaganda passes over in silence the most important thing—that socialism springs up in those countries whose people want to build it. Socialism cannot be exported and still less implanted by force.

Take, for example, my country —the G.D.R. In the West it is claimed at times that there are oppression and exploitation in the G.D.R. and that the opinion of the people is ignored. How false these accusations are was evidenced by the recent elections to the G.D.R. People's Chamber. The candidates of the National Front, despite their affiliation with different parties, contested the election with a common programme, copies of which could be bought at any newsstand for 1.40 marks. The most important planks of the programme were the safeguarding of peace and, in home policy, improvement of the living conditions of the people. Who would vote against such a policy? Our entire people unanimously cast their ballots for the National Front candidates. Moreover, we are convinced that by 1991 they will be able to report the fulfilment of this programme. This confidence we derive from past experience.

We too, of course, have problems that have not yet been resolved, or for which better solutions could have been found, but this does not detract from the fact that the fruits of labour under socialism are enjoyed primarily by the people and that our government, the Socialist Unity Party and the people are doing everything to make our life still better and richer. How can anyone talk about exploitation and oppression? In the light of all this it should be obvious that the aggressiveness of which Schmider writes is utterly alien to socialism.

Paul ERASMUS
Kuchelmiss, G.D.R.

From Project to Product

BORIS BOLOTIN

A complex of measures to streamline the management, planning and organization of production is one of the more important problems being tackled by the country today.

The first problem to be resolved in that field is to redress imbalances and remove bottlenecks in the economy so that the productive forces can be used to the fullest possible extent. Improvements in the organization of production and the dovetailing of industrial and territorial aspects also hold out good promise. Another problem is to optimize planning and link the interests of work collectives and the state in meeting production targets smoothly. The Communist Party believes that such human factors as conscientiousness, responsibility, the spirit of competition, enthusiasm and Soviet patriotism will have an immense role to play in improving the efficiency of production.

All these economic, scientific, technological, organizational and human factors are so closely intertwined that the term "economic organism" seems to be more appropriate than "economic mechanism" in discussing Soviet society. Sometimes, in fact, it is enough to replace a unit to improve the efficiency of a piece of machinery, but when it comes to an organism, it should be exposed to comprehensive and complex influences. That is why the Party warns against attempts to reduce the problem to specific adjustments in economic policy. The task is to restructure the entire system of production relations, bring them into full harmony with the productive forces of socialism, and ensure their self-improvement and self-regulation. It was the lack of such harmony, which manifested itself in a variety of always adverse effects over the past 15-20 years, that brought about the disorder which is being energetically put right today.

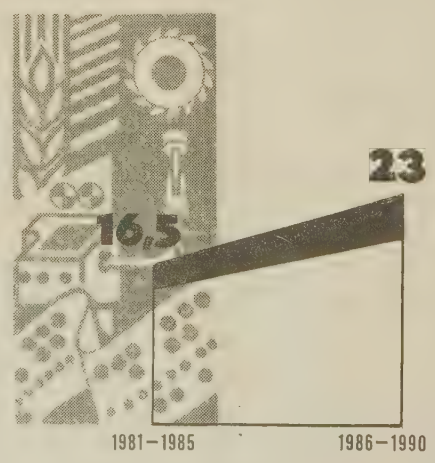
The basics of our system of economic management took shape in the early years of industrialization and the rehabilitation of the war-ravaged economy. It was aimed first and foremost at ensuring the fastest possible economic growth and expanding the productive forces. These objectives were effectively realized to the amazement of the world. However, some methods of economic management which were entrenched at that time had, regrettably, outlived themselves.

Dissipation of Resources

Following the concept of the "main link," for instance, we tried in the past to expand in particular the basic lines of production, which were responsible for the most essential output. At the same time the production infrastructure relied predominantly on poorly mechanized and poorly skilled manual labour. This approach, in the economic conditions of that distant period, was compatible not only with the existing realities (the mechanization of farm work released many hands in the countryside, and in cities, too, many married women were not yet gainfully employed) but also with social goals because it ensured 100 per cent employment.

But it eventually led to an imbalance, very acute today, between basic production and the production infrastructure (tool-making, repairs, foundry, storage, transportation, etc.). Almost 20 per cent of farm output is lost because of inadequate roads, transportation technology and storage facilities, as the June 1986 CC CPSU plenary meeting noted. This means that our five-year-plan period in agriculture consists of four years, as it were, because one year's output is totally lost.

GROWTH OF LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY
(in per cent)



The gross volume of production at the time when our managerial system was taking shape was relatively small. Suffice to say that the aggregate national income planned for the 12th five-year plan (1986-90) is 7.5 times higher and industrial output, 12 times higher than those in the 5th five-year-plan period (1951-55). The number of units involved in management—operating plants and construction projects—was relatively small as well. All of them, figuratively speaking, were visible from the windows of national ministries. But as the economy grew and the number of plants and factories multiplied, industries and economic sectors began to be divided between numerous ministries and departments to preserve good visibility. Each of these ministries, responsible for a part of an industry and trying to minimize the impact of irregular supplies, began to sprout auxiliary lines of production, which duplicated similar facilities of other ministries and departments in a given region.

The production units developed in this way either worked below capacity or had to supply their produce to other, sometimes distant regions. At the same time numerous imbalances and bottlenecks began to emerge at the interface of "departmental" industries, blocking the efficient use of industrial potential. For instance, for a long time growth rates in the oil-refining industry lagged behind those in oil production and oil had to be put through refineries faster, with frequent deviations from established processes. As a consequence, the output of fractions of oil products slumped with a resulting shortfall of tens of millions of tons of petrol, kerosene, ligroine and lubricants. In agriculture, meanwhile, because of the insufficient expansion of the industries producing concentrated feeds and microbiological additives the cattle were fed rough fodder grain, which was poorly assimilated, and tens of millions of tons of grain a year were wasted.

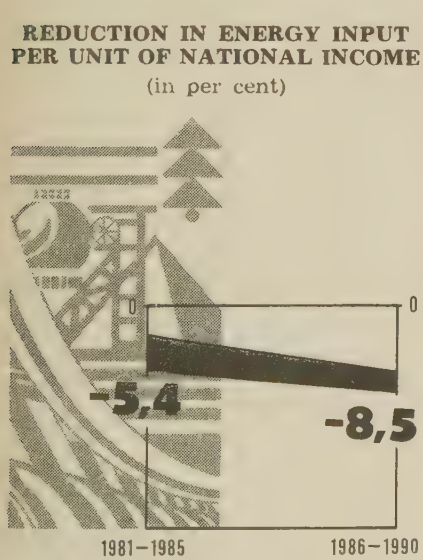
The specialization of production as a means of raising efficiency in

Second instalment.

developed capitalist countries involves diversification, makes for a better use of all the components of raw materials, amounting to virtually waste-free production. In our economy, however, the narrow specialization of ministries and their reluctance "to waste time and effort" on the production of "secondary" commodities result in huge losses. The mining complexes in the mineral fertilizer industry dump valuable raw materials from which aluminium and cement could be obtained; the steel industry wastes nonferrous metals and the nonferrous metals industry, iron. The maintenance of the managerial system that had emerged and taken shape under long changed economic conditions became, therefore, a costly anachronism.

It was pointed out in the past, too, that existing levels and methods of management, planning and economic incentive in production were lagging behind the productive forces and holding back their further growth. But the steps taken to redress the situation were only half-measures, which, as is clear today, were quite inadequate: many important and promising decisions were diluted and emasculated in countless departmental "clarifications," supplements and stipulations. That negative practice deserves as close examination as every achievement in our development in the past 15-20 years. It is necessary to avert any recurrence of the phenomenon, to do away with conservative thinking and approaches and disregard for the imperatives of our time under "objective" pretexts of all sorts.

REDUCTION IN ENERGY INPUT PER UNIT OF NATIONAL INCOME
(in per cent)



Streamlining the Economy

The first major steps to restructure economic management have already been taken. They include the realignment of the agro-industrial complex under the State Agricultural Committee of the U.S.S.R. and those that make up the engineering industries under a special Bureau of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. The ground is being prepared for the establishment of similar bureaux for transport and the fuel and power industries, and a number of other measures are also being taken. These new managerial bodies are a prototype of future integrated ministries, the "general contractors" of the state in the fulfilment of long-term special programmes which have, like any good contractor, an interest in efficient and assiduous work which promises good remuneration.

The integration of scattered ministries along with the regional certification of production units and work places will make it possible to establish large territorial-industrial (and sometimes inter-industrial) amalgamations which will use local raw materials and rely on local auxiliary production facilities. This will minimize superfluous long-distance haulage and ease the load on transport. These rational amalgamations will be able adequately to respond to the changing conditions of economic activity and ensure the greatest possible acceleration of socio-economic development.

Bottlenecks in the economy will be glaring under new conditions and it will be possible quickly to remove them. There will be no need to hoard against unreliable supplies and to offset the inadequacy of the regional production infrastructure (or more often, their unavailability as they are controlled by another department) with the installation of equipment bound to work below capacity. It will be possible to infuse efficient advanced technology into the industries of territorial-industrial amalgamations, operate it in two or three shifts and no longer hang onto outdated "reserve" machinery. A combination of part-by-part specialization within an individual amalgamation with product specialization between amalgamations will ensure the fullest possible use of the opportunities offered by our immense domestic market, a higher proportion of serially produced output, cuts in production costs and improvements in quality.

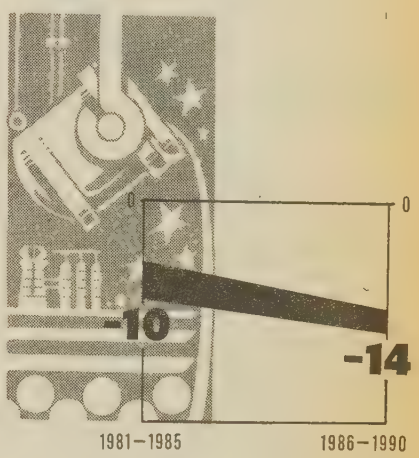
It has been estimated that with this restructuring we will be able to take out of operation virtually all obsolescent and worn-out production assets (about a quarter of all machinery and equipment) within 5-7 years and simultaneously double the efficiency of the remaining assets. This means that existing production potential (with present-day technical standards but optimum utilization), with relatively small capital investment needed to remove bottlenecks, will yield 30-40 per cent more output by 1990-92.

These are the economic benefits we hope will accrue from streamlining.

Both Plan and Independence

The enlarged ministries, which are bound to appear in our economy, will be physically unable to supervise the day-to-day performance of the enterprises controlled by them—and there will be no need to. The industries, rid of petty bureaucratic tutelage and enjoying a large measure of independence and freedom of manoeuvre, will tackle themselves, and with better effect, all the tasks stemming from the plan targets assigned to them. "No ministry or department, even a most proficient one, is able, given the scope of today's economy, effectively to resolve every problem or do what the creative endeavour of work collectives can do," Mikhail Gorbachev said at the June 1986 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

REDUCTION IN METAL INPUT PER UNIT OF NATIONAL INCOME
(in per cent)

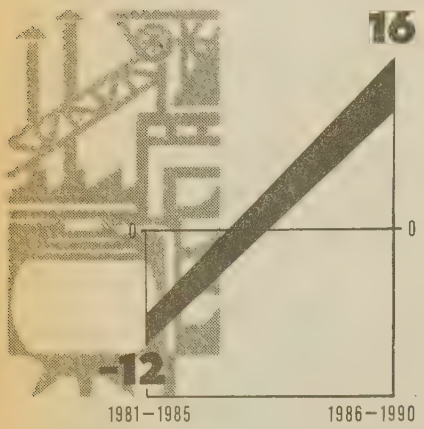


Not long ago the proposals that industries should be granted more independence were frowned at; they were thought to mean the dismantling of central planning and a deviation from the principles of socialism. There were warnings against the ills of "market socialism," which were evidence both of a misunderstanding of the true role of the market (i. e., commodity and monetary factors) under developed socialist production and a poor idea of the concrete causes of economic difficulties in the countries summarily labelled "market socialism" economies.

No sensible Soviet economist has ever suggested the abandonment of planning. The socialization of production objectively and imperatively demands that all economic activity be governed by a single plan. Even Western authors have produced dozens

if not hundreds of papers and books in the past half century urging the introduction of comprehensive planning. Such recommendations are, naturally, pipedreams because, given the private ownership of the means of production, they can be fulfilled only

GROWTH OF EFFICIENCY OF INVESTMENT
(in per cent)



as programmes of desirable indicators for the dynamics of economic growth, and supportive taxation and financial measures, intended to orient proprietors towards certain economic goals. It is only the socialist ownership of the means of production, however, that makes it possible to subordinate all economic activity to social and economic objectives and effectively put to use all material, scientific, technological and human resources to accomplish them.

In fact, the abandonment of economic planning is indicated even less when the economy has to be accelerated, that is, when all these resources have to be applied in priority areas of social and economic development. The task today therefore is not to discard planning but to restructure it and increase the role of incentive as opposed to directive in the fulfilment of plan targets. The task is to draw up plans not to hamper economic interests but as a logical extension of these interests, to make plans viable and flexible. What matters is ridding plans of cumbersome petty details, which are not at all important to the fate of the country but which impose rigid constraints on the activity of industries and deny them the possibility of manoeuvring according to economic circumstances and choosing more rational ways of meeting plan targets.

The country today produces 24 million types of industrial and agricultural product. The State Planning Committee and the State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies specifically mention in annual state plans only some 15,000 of them, less than a thousandth of the entire range of output. It is only these 15,000 products that are a matter of special and continuous concern to the national economic management bodies, whereas the remainder are dealt with by ministries, departments and territorial units more often than not merely to justify their own existence.

It is that part of the plan target that is going to be handed over, without any prejudice to national interests, to industries themselves and made the subject of agreements and contracts between suppliers and customers. Meanwhile, the overall balance of the plan, the percentage of profits to be deducted to the state budget, the correlation between the wage fund and output and between average wages and labour productivity will be firmly fixed. The prices of "standard" products and the price margin for products of better or poorer quality will also be fixed centrally. The introduction of such a system, however, means the consolidation rather than weakening of planning principles, the encouragement of a more responsible and assiduous attitude to socialist property rather than its renunciation. It is only under such conditions that all the working people will be able to feel themselves co-owners of that part of the property of the entire people which has been entrusted to them for the good of each of them and society as a whole.

"We have entered the stage of post-congress work at which we must demonstrate our ability to restructure and build anew, and to look for new forms and methods without for a moment being complacent about what we have achieved," Mikhail Gorbachev noted. "We will be judged not only on the strength of our aspirations but first and foremost on the strength of real change in society and practical results."

These words aptly define the Party's attitude to its tasks at the current crucial stage in the life of our great country. ■

"We and China, as far as one can judge, have similar priorities—the acceleration of socio-economic development," Mikhail Gorbachev said in his speech in Vladivostok. These priorities are determined by the requirements of and the laws governing the development of the new society. Naturally, these laws are not manifested in the same way in the political sphere in all countries. Specific historical and national features to a large extent shape political thinking in each country that has opted for socialism. At the same time the economic and social development of socialist society in all cases requires reduction of international tension and tangible headway in the matter of disarmament.

In the late seventies and early eighties the People's Republic of China was increasingly drawn into participation in international talks on disarmament. Since 1980 its representatives and experts have taken part in the Geneva Disarmament Conference and in special working groups, for instance, in the group on identification of seismic phenomena as a means of verifying observance of bans on nuclear arms testing. China's more active participation in international negotiations on control over nuclear arms is generally regarded as a positive development.

Note must be made of the evolution of China's position on urgent problems of nuclear disarmament. As distinct from the recent past, this position is now being backed by appropriate argumentation, with stricter account being taken of the grim realities of the nuclear age.

At the 40th U.N. General Assembly last year the Chinese delegate voted for a resolution calling for the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons of any type. Hopes of being able to win a nuclear war are senseless, the resolution stressed. It rejected all military doctrines and concepts that could impede the adoption of measures aimed at ending the nuclear arms race and lead to the outbreak of nuclear war.

The U.S. and its allies, with the exception of Greece, voted against the resolution. This was not a matter of chance. One U.S. military doctrine underlying the SDI programme is specifically aimed at the achievement of military superiority. The Chinese leadership rightly holds that such projects signify the beginning of another round in the arms race in a new sphere. Speaking of the dangers with which extension of the arms race into outer space is fraught, P.R.C. spokesmen have cited a highly apposite Chinese folk saying: "For every shield there is a sword and for every sword a shield can be found."

Peking has questioned the "defensive nature" of SDI. "Outer space," Premier

Facing the Responsibility

China and Nuclear Disarmament

Zhao Ziyang said last March, "must be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the good of all humanity; no country should develop, test, or deploy space weapons in any form." China has advanced the idea of concluding an international agreement on the total prohibition of space weapons and was the co-author of the resolution on preventing an arms race in outer space.

China's role in the worldwide movement for a peaceful outer space is growing in connection also with the growing significance of the space research the P.R.C. has been conducting since the mid-fifties. In the period from April 1970 to the beginning of this year it has put 18 artificial earth satellites in orbit. In the opinion of many experts, even at the present rate of development of China's aerospace industry, by the end of the eighties it will be able to put into low orbit a payload comparable with that of the most powerful Soviet and American vehicles. China is also conducting intensive research on space laboratories. However, no particular emphasis is placed on this research, priority being given to the creation of the necessary industrial base. Ties with other countries in the peaceful utilization of outer space are being promoted. The Soviet Union has offered cooperation in this sphere which could include the training of Chinese cosmonauts.

Of great importance from the standpoint of preventing war is the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. So far the P.R.C. and the U.S.S.R. are the only members of the "nuclear club" that have undertaken such a commitment.

On March 21 this year a mass meeting was held in Peking under the slogan "The Peoples of China are for World Peace" in response to the U.N. appeal in connection with the proclamation of the International Year of Peace. Addressing the meeting, Premier Zhao Ziyang spoke of China's opposition to the arms race. He stressed that for a number of years [beginning with 1983] China has not conducted nuclear tests in the atmosphere and would not do so in the future. The Chinese side makes the continuation of tests dependent on the reduction of the Soviet and American nuclear arsenals and the conclusion of a comprehensive agreement prohibiting tests. *

Chinese official spokesmen have repeatedly stressed that cooperation in the nuclear sphere between the P.R.C. and other countries invariably "serves peaceful purposes and will never be projected at non-peaceful objectives." It will be recalled that this principle is written into the partial test ban treaty of 1963 and the non-proliferation treaty of 1968. The overwhelming majority of countries are signatories to these agreements. It would seem that there are no serious obstacles to China, too, acceding to them. If it did so this would undoubtedly contribute both to the limitation of the nuclear arms race and the strengthening of the non-proliferation regime.

At diverse conferences China's representatives as a rule call for termination of the nuclear arms buildup primarily by the Soviet Union and the United States. This is natural enough. Without the efforts and initiatives of these great powers the obstacles to nuclear disarmament could hardly be overcome. At the same time, one can hardly agree with the thesis of the "equal responsibility" of the Soviet Union and the United States for the arms race on a regional and global scale. Is not the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing, for instance, testimony to a sincere desire to resolve this problem not of our making? Is this move not fully in accord with the aspirations of peace-loving states and also with the proposals of the P.R.C. as regards the ending of nuclear tests by the Soviet Union and the United States? The U.S.S.R., as is known, has put forward a programme for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of this century, proposals for the removal from Europe of all American and Soviet medium-range missiles, and many other initiatives.

In recent years some changes have taken place in the position of the P.R.C. on problems relating to the nuclear confrontation in the Asian and Pacific region. China is critical of the growing U.S. military presence in this part of the world. At the same time, one can hardly overlook the contention advanced in some public statements by official Chinese spokesmen that both "superpowers" are to blame for the arms race in this region. After all, it is not the Soviet Union but the Western powers that have been knocking together military blocs and carrying out nuclear tests there. On the contrary, the Soviet Union urges that barriers be raised to the proliferation and buildup of nuclear weapons in Asia and the Pacific. It has undertaken not to increase the number of its medium-range missiles in the Asian part of the U.S.S.R. Moreover, our country has proposed to begin talks on the reduction of naval activity in the Pacific, primarily of nuclear-armed naval forces. The United States has responded to this by stepping up naval activities in this part of the world.

On the whole, China and the Soviet Union take a positive view of the movement for the creation of nuclear-free zones, in the South Pacific, for instance. Washington, on the other hand, is opposed to the decisions of the South Pacific Forum (which consists of 13 countries and self-governing territories in the area) and pressures its participants to prevent the creation of a nuclear-free zone. In doing so the U.S. is prompted by a desire to continue the arms buildup in the region. Indeed, it was the U.S. that deployed nuclear weapons in one of the area's crisis zones—the Korean peninsula—and U.S. carriers of these weapons have appeared on the territory of Japan. Thus, the responsibility for the militarist activity in the region, for the transformation of the Pacific into a zone of military-political confrontation rests not with the U.S.S.R. or the P.R.C., but with the United States.

On the whole, China's present position on the pressing problems of nuclear disarmament differs to a considerable extent from that propounded by official P.R.C. spokesmen 10-15 years ago. This is connected with the objective set by the Communist Party of China—modernization of the country with the ultimate aim of building a socialist society. This goal can be achieved only in the conditions of lasting peace and international security.

History has entrusted the Soviet and Chinese people with an extremely important mission. Much in international development depends on the two biggest socialist powers.

V. VORONTSOV, D. Sc. (Hist.)

* According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, China had carried out 29 nuclear tests by the end of 1984.

SUPPORT THE APPEAL FROM HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI!

MITSUHIRO KANEKO
Chairman of the Central Committee Secretariat, Communist Party of Japan, and Vice-President of the World Peace Council

The international conference for a ban on nuclear weapons held in Tokyo, Hiroshima and Nagasaki from August 2 to 9, 1986, was attended by 87 delegates from 28 countries and 20 international organizations, including the Soviet Peace Committee.

The resolution, appealing to the conscience of mankind to avert nuclear war and urgently eliminate nuclear weapons, was passed unanimously at the international conference in Tokyo. It drew attention to the growing worldwide campaign to sign the Hiroshima and Nagasaki appeal, expressed solidarity with this campaign and called on the peoples to facilitate its further spread.

The Hiroshima and Nagasaki appeal for a total ban on and the elimination of nuclear weapons was unanimously adopted at the international consultative meeting held from February 5 to 9, 1985, in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The meeting was attended by peace campaigners from Algeria, Australia, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, Italy, Holland, New Zealand, Sweden, Britain, the United States, and Vietnam, delegates of the Japanese Council for a Ban on Nuclear and Hydrogen Weapons (Gensuikyo), and victims of the atomic bombings from Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Soviet Peace Committee sent the meeting a message of solidarity.

Denouncing the use of nuclear weapons as an illegal and inhuman act which is a crime against humanity, the appeal emphasized that the elimination of nuclear weapons is the most important and urgent international problem on whose solution the fate of humanity depends.

Delegates called on peoples the world over to launch an international campaign to collect signatures in support of the appeal. The movement is an index of the desire of the world's millions to see the elimination of nuclear weapons, as well as of the isolation of the forces that cling to them.

Delegates stressed the importance of working for the adoption of concrete and efficient measures to avert nuclear war, such as banning the deployment of nuclear-missile weapons, forbidding ships carrying nuclear weapons to call at ports, dismantling nuclear bases, undertaking not to be first to use nuclear weapons, preventing the militarization of outer space, completely banning nuclear tests and creating nuclear-free and demilitarized zones. The appeal stated: "With effective activities for the prevention of nuclear war now developing throughout the world, the elimination of nuclear weapons, as a common international task, has become most urgent and crucial for the very survival of the whole of humanity." Regarding a complete ban on nuclear weapons as crucial for the survival of humanity, the appeal called for the earliest possible solution of the problem.

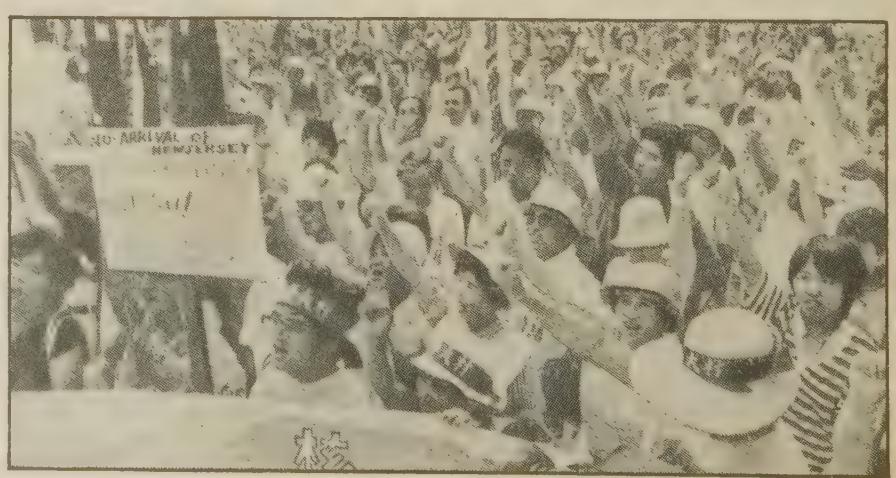
In December 1984, shortly before the Hiroshima and Nagasaki appeal was made public, talks had been held in Moscow between the delegations of the Communist Party of Japan and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Chairman of the Communist Party of Japan Central Committee Kenji Miyamoto and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Konstantin Chernenko, respectively. The talks focussed on effective drastic measures that should be taken to avert nuclear war and eliminate nuclear weapons.

During the talks both sides agreed to do their utmost to bring about, at the earliest possible time, an agreement providing for a total ban on the development, production, testing, possession, deployment and use of nuclear weapons, and to secure its implementation. The joint document released after the talks reaffirmed the sides' view that the worldwide popular movement and public opinion had an important part to play towards this goal. The joint document also read: "Proceeding from the historical experience of the 1950 Stockholm Appeal, which demanded an unconditional ban on atomic weapons, the establishment of strict international control over observance of this agreement and the denunciation as criminal of any government that would be first to use it, was signed by more than five hundred million people the world over and acted as a restraint on nuclear warmongers, both sides now pin great hopes on a powerful new upsurge of the international movement demanding a complete ban on nuclear weapons and their elimination."

The Hiroshima and Nagasaki appeal gave expression to these hopes. All over the world, particularly in Japan, signatures in support of it have been collected over the year and a half since it was made public.

Over 20 million signatures have already been collected in Japan. There

Demonstration of protest against the entry into Sasebo harbour of the U.S. battleship New Jersey with nuclear weapons on board.
Photo from Akahata (Japan)



are prefectures and other administrative areas in the country where the overwhelming majority of the population has signed the appeal. Many participants in the present conference for the ban on nuclear weapons expressed their determination to continue the signature campaign with a view to winning the eventual support of the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people.

The campaign is not without effect on Japanese politics. That public opinion in Japan is increasingly in favour of averting nuclear war and the elimination of nuclear weapons is evidenced by the fact that by July 15, 1986, 1,040 bodies of self-government had adopted declarations denouncing nuclear weapons and for peace. The population that lives in the area controlled by these self-governing bodies is over 64-million-strong and represents 53 per cent of Japan's entire population. In May of this year, the society for a nuclear-free government was set up, and on July 29 it addressed the government urging it to take concrete steps towards meeting the nationwide demand to eliminate nuclear weapons as soon as possible.

The Nakasone government, relying as it does on a military alliance with the United States and following in the wake of the Reagan Administration's nuclear strategy, violated the three non-nuclear principles (not to have, not to manufacture and not to bring in nuclear weapons) when it allowed U.S. warships and aircraft capable of delivering a nuclear strike into Japan. Recently the battleship New Jersey carrying Tomahawk missiles called at Sasebo harbour. The gap continues to widen between the Nakasone government, which favours nuclear arms, and the Japanese people.

According to the international liaison committee to coordinate the signature campaign outside Japan, 18 international and 133 national organizations have supported the appeal, and it has been signed by people from 147 countries. Among them, president of the World Federation of Scientific Workers Jean-Marie Legay, Tony Benn, a leader of the British Labour Party, the Italian writer Alberto Moravia, former Portuguese President Costa Gomes, Alessandro Natta, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, the Nobel prize winner Sean MacBride from Ireland, and a host of other personalities.

The international conference of non-government organizations held over January 20-24 in Geneva in connection with the International Year of Peace recommended that action be stepped up to support the collection of signatures to the Hiroshima and Nagasaki appeal. For example, the Gensuikyo delegations, which included victims of atomic bombings from Hiroshima and Nagasaki, visited 12 countries and greatly helped to spread the ideas of the appeal.

When the World Youth and Student Festival was held recently in Moscow, about 80,000 Muscovites responded to the call from the Japanese delegation and put their signatures to the appeal. This was received as an indication of the striving on the part of the Soviet

CPSU AND CPJ: TOGETHER AGAINST THE NUCLEAR THREAT

VADIM ZAGLADIN
Member, Central Committee of the CPSU;
First Deputy Head of the International Department, CC CPSU

The prohibition and complete elimination of nuclear weapons—what could more fully accord with the interests of the peoples? What could be a more reliable means of ensuring genuine, comprehensive international security?

From 1946 the Soviet Union has worked perseveringly and consistently towards the achievement of this objective. Our country has put forward scores of proposals aimed at removing the threat of nuclear death. And, it goes without saying, we regard with esteem and a feeling of solidarity all states, political parties and organizations, which, despite differences in views and political sympathies, likewise wage a struggle against a weapon capable of destroying modern civilization.

A special place among these parties and social forces is occupied by the Communist Party of Japan, the Communist Party of the first country to suffer from nuclear weapons.

The memory of the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is sacred for every thinking person. It is a warning of what could happen, a call for vigilance. Japanese Communists are translating that memory into watchwords and practical action, into selfless struggle aimed at preventing any repetition of the horrors of August 1945.

Recently a member of a Western parliamentary delegation, referring to the atom-bombing of the Japanese cities, said: "It was a good thing the bombs were dropped. For they were the final act of World War II and hastened its end." Yes, this view is widespread in the West. It is propounded by those who seek to justify not only the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but also the present nuclear arms race.

The atom-bombing of the Japanese cities was not a necessity. Long before the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki the Japanese government had decided that the war could no longer be continued. Thus, the first atom bombs to be used were not the final act of World War II, but the first act in the preparation by certain forces of a third such war—a war to establish the global hegemony of the United States.

Nuclear diplomacy, which has led to a runaway buildup of nuclear arms and brought humanity to the brink of self-destruction, traces its beginnings to Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The Japanese Communists, fully aware of the seriousness of the nuclear threat and the need to remove it, are waging a vigorous, persevering struggle to this end. They work, of course, primarily in Japan itself but also make their voice heard at all international forums in order to rally to the struggle all who are ready to fight to save the future.

It is not surprising, then, that our party, the CPSU, and the fraternal Communist Party of Japan have not only found a common language as regards the fight against the nuclear threat, but are jointly engaged in combating it.

In December 1984 top-level talks between the delegations of the two parties on the prevention of nuclear war

APPEAL FROM HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI

people to eliminate nuclear weapons.

The present situation certainly gives rise to the hope that the campaign to collect signatures to the Hiroshima and Nagasaki appeal, expressing the urgent worldwide demand to eliminate nuclear weapons, will attract the overwhelming majority of the population of the planet.

The 1950 Stockholm Appeal was signed by more than 500 million people, among them over 115 million Soviet citizens. This greatly helped the movement. But it is evident that the situation that has shaped today makes it possible to launch a movement dwarfing in scale the campaign in support of the Stockholm Appeal.

On August 11 high-level regular consultations took place in Moscow between Chairman of the Presidium of the Communist Party of Japan Central Committee Tetsuzo Fuwa and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev. During the consultations the sides reaffirmed the importance and viability of the CPJ-CPSU joint statement adopted in December 1984 and exchanged views on its concrete implementation. It was agreed that both parties will cooperate in disseminating the Hiroshima and Nagasaki appeal and work to secure ever greater support to the appeal at international conferences of peace and democratic organizations. The understanding is very important in expanding the signature-collecting campaign for a real ban on the use, testing, development, production, deployment and storage of nuclear weapons.

Following the decision of the 1986 international conference calling for a nuclear ban, the peace-loving forces of Japan will step up the effort to win wider support for the Hiroshima and Nagasaki appeal at home and abroad. We believe that cooperation in this field will also be developed between the peace committees of the U.S.S.R. and Japan, as well as between the democratic public organizations of both countries.

Over October 15-19, the international congress dedicated to the International Year of Peace will be held in Copenhagen. The congress will be attended by peace champions holding various views. The Japanese preparatory committee, in cooperation with peace-loving forces working for the success of the 1986 international conference for a ban on nuclear weapons, will send a joint delegation to call on the participants in the meeting to give still greater support to the appeal, as the prevention of nuclear war and the elimination of nuclear weapons are issues that concern everyone taking part in the congress. ■

TOGETHER AGAINST THE NUCLEAR THREAT

and the total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons were held in Moscow.

The joint statement adopted at the time reads: "Elimination of nuclear weapons is the demand of all the peoples of the world. There is no alternative to it." The joint document went on record that the sides would do everything in their power to speed the conclusion and implementation of an agreement on the complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons, an agreement providing for a total ban on the development, production, testing, possession, deployment and use of such weapons.

Our two parties jointly declared their support for all effective partial measures capable of facilitating the conclusion of such an agreement and, needless to say, emphatically urged the conclusion of an agreement on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests.

In the nearly two years since then, both parties have done much to give effect to the understandings reached.

In his January 15, 1986, statement which is known the world over, CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev proposed that nuclear weapons be eliminated by the close of this century. To this end our country is working energetically on the diplomatic plane, as, for instance, at the Geneva talks with the U.S., and to mobilize public opinion. And if the talks now under way in Geneva have not yet yielded positive results and if the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions has not yet become a bilateral one, we are not to blame. The responsibility lies with those quarters in the U.S. which do not wish to terminate the deadly nuclear arms race, but are continuing the nuclear buildup in pursuit of their egoistic ends.

The Communist Party of Japan is working actively to ha.en removal of the threat of nuclear de.h. This activity is dealt with in the article by Mitsuhiro Kaneko, Chairman of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan and Vice-President of the World Peace Council, published elsewhere in this issue.

The work done by our two parties in the period since the joint statement of 1984 was summed up during a meeting between CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and Chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan Tetsuzo Fuwa on August 11. Following a thorough exchange of views, the two sides agreed that the joint statement of the CPJ and the CPSU remains fully in force. World events since its adoption have only confirmed the timeliness of this document.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Tetsuzo Fuwa called for redoubled effort to popularize the ideas contained in the appeal for a total ban on and the elimination of nuclear weapons issued in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

After examining the results of the talks between the delegations of the CPSU and the Communist Party of Japan, the CPSU Political Bureau noted that "the talks marked a new important step towards the realization of the joint statement of the CPSU and CPJ adopted in December 1984 and testify to the further development of contacts and cooperation between the two parties, primarily in the struggle aganist the danger of nuclear war and for the total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons."

Cooperation between the two parties, one functioning in the biggest socialist country, and the other being the biggest communist party in Asia, is continuing successfully. This cooperation is an important element in the struggle being fought today by all the forces of reason and common sense, all the forces of peace and social progress. Stop the drift towards catastrophe, ban and do away with nuclear weapons—these are the watchwords in this struggle waged in the vital interests of all humanity. ■

"The cheapest atom bomb" was what they called this city 15 years ago, when the quadripartite agreement was signed

The "Bomb" Defused

On September 3, 1971, the world's major TV corporations gave telecasts live from the former Control Council of Germany in West Berlin. At 196 Potsdamer Strasse, the ambassadors of the U.S.S.R., the U.S., the U.K. and France signed a document of tremendous importance, which had been none too simple to work out.

For many years West Berlin had been one of the world's worst flash points, a Gordian knot in which many aspects of world politics were entwined, as well as the interests of the four Victor Powers and other states. Twice, in 1948 and 1961, the tensions the West had whipped up over this city reached boiling point. The world might not have survived a third such crisis.

On August 13, 1961, steps were taken to fortify the boundary between the G.D.R. capital and West Berlin (see our issue No. 32, 1986). Though this stabilized the situation, it did not entirely defuse it; true, West Berlin lost its West-assigned role as the main centre of subversion against the G.D.R. and a generator of the cold war.

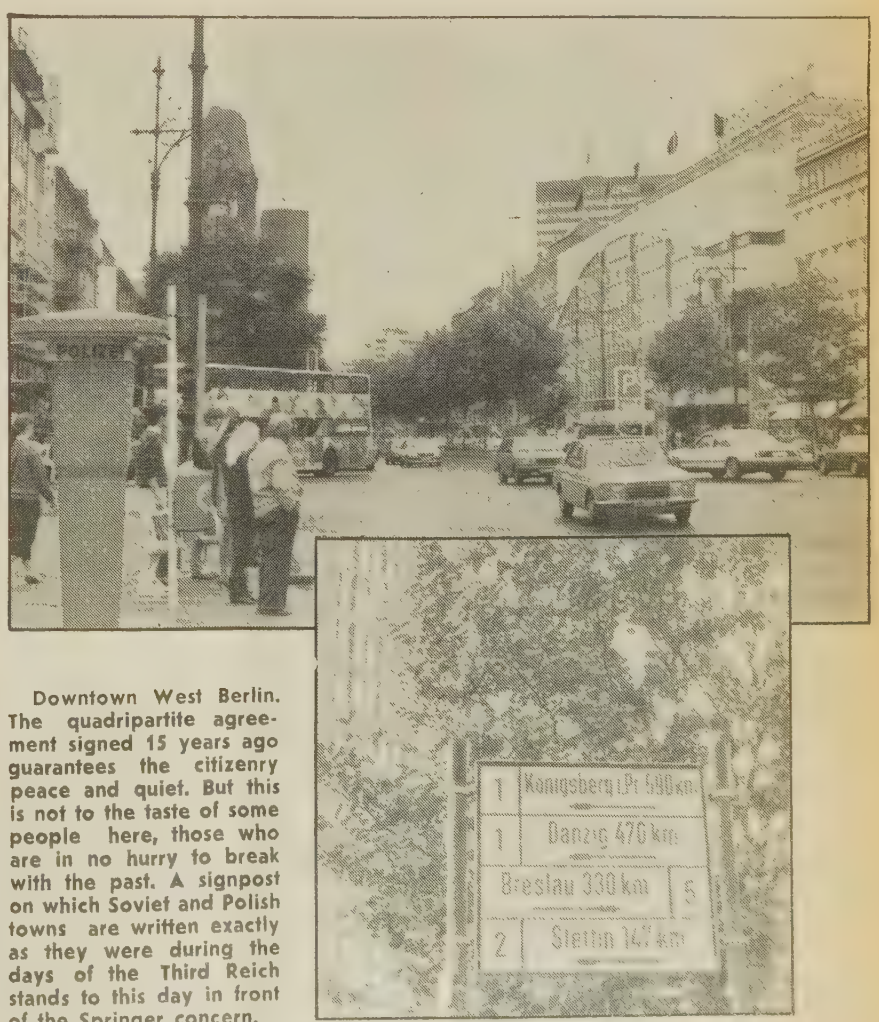
Provocations, many of them armed, continued on the border with the G.D.R. capital. Bonn officialdom sought to lash West Berlin as tightly as possible to the F.R.G. and eventually incorporate it within the federation. Parliamentary factions, as well as various Bundestag and Bundesrat committees met there; in 1964 there was even a federal meeting to elect the West German president. The number of federal offices and organizations of one kind or another rapidly grew, and the international treaties and agreements which the F.R.G. signed were also made to apply to West Berlin. Bonn also embroiled the city in its military preparations. More than 150 Berlin firms fulfilled orders for the Bundeswehr. All this took place with the tacit acquiescence of the Western occupation authorities.

This situation continued up to the close of the 1960s. Then, in September 1969, the Social Democrats won the elections and formed a new government in cooperation with the Free Democratic Party. The new Ostpolitik had a salutary impact on the situation around West Berlin. Further, as the international climate had changed, it was now possible to tackle at close quarters the complex, pressing problem of West Berlin.

On March 26, 1970, the ambassadors of the U.S.S.R., the U.S., the U.K., and France had their first meeting in the building of the former Control Council. So began a diplomatic marathon of 33 exhausting meetings. Each proviso of the prospective agreement was hammered out with incredible difficulty. Even the subject of the negotiation could not be agreed on at once. The West insisted on the question of "Berlin as a whole," which conflicted with the existing realities. The U.S.S.R. wanted it to be formulated as "West Berlin." Eventually the four ambassadors agreed on the definition of the "Western sectors of Berlin."

Another stumbling block was the official designation of the German Democratic Republic with which the text of the agreement could not dispense. But scarcely was the abbreviation mentioned than the Western partners seemed to lose their voice. They learned to say the G.D.R. only some six months later.

Very slowly, but surely, the differences between the positions of the parties began to close. At last, on September 3, 1971, the ambassadors of the four powers signed the concerted text of the agreement which, it is true, did not bridge all differences. However, the common denominator that was eventually worked out marked a new



Downtown West Berlin. The quadripartite agreement signed 15 years ago guarantees the citizenry peace and quiet. But this is not to the taste of some people here, those who are in no hurry to break with the past. A signpost on which Soviet and Polish towns are written exactly as they were during the days of the Third Reich stands to this day in front of the Springer concern.

chapter in the city's history. The agreement ended the crisis over West Berlin that had been brewing for more than 20 years and thus signally contributed to international détente.

In the first place, it settled West Berlin's status in international law as an independent political entity. The agreement recorded that the Western sectors "continue not to be a constituent part of the Federal Republic of Germany and not to be governed by it." This deleted all grounds for Bonn's claims to West Berlin.

The quadripartite agreement also resolved other major issues, such as the external representation of the interests of West Berlin and its permanent residents, the procedures for the consular service of West Berliners on trips abroad, and the establishment in West Berlin of a Soviet Consulate General, bureau of Soviet foreign trade organizations and Aeroflot.

Whereas August 13, 1961, signified the first move towards a lasting peace, I was told in Berlin, the quadripartite agreement offered the key to normalization. After September 3, 1971, the G.D.R. government and the West Berlin Senate concluded more than 20 agreements.

However, one must note that West Berlin's relations with the G.D.R. have been far from cloudless, especially over the past few years. The Senate is responsible for having prevented several understandings from being implemented. Contacts at political level have been ruptured. The West Berlin authorities have refused to conclude economic agreements proposed by the G.D.R. government which would have been advantageous for the city, for example, electricity supplies. West Berlin prefers to generate its own electricity, disregarding the heavy environmental pollution caused by lignite-burning power plants. Conversations with West Berliners produce the impression that some fear excessive dependence and absorption by the G.D.R. These apprehensions are artificially inflated by certain West Berlin newspapers that confront West Berliners with the danger of losing their independence. Is there really any need to show how absurd such "prophecies" are?

What did the signing of the quadripartite agreement imply for West Berlin? What has it given West Berliners in concrete terms?

Let us see what they themselves have to say.

I met Rolf Elias, president of the West Berlin-U.S.S.R. Friendship Society, at his Kurfürstendamm office.

"We are glad to mark the 15th anniversary of the signing of the quadripartite agreement," he says, "as it has definitely served to improve the political climate both in and around West Berlin. It ended the cold-war period and paved the way for the emergence of a city of peace and tranquillity in the heart of Europe. West Berliners now feel safer. Transit routes between West Berlin and the F.R.G. are always

Rolf Elias: "There are some who from time to time try to put the agreement to the test."

Photos by author

open to them. They also have extensive opportunities for visiting the G.D.R."

Lighting his pipe, Rolf Elias continued after a moment's meditation: "You won't find anyone here today, I think, from an official politician to an ordinary citizen, who would not acknowledge the positive role of the quadripartite agreement."

"One hopes that is truly so. But you must admit that the agreement is still coming under attack."

"That is to be regretted, but you are right. Some people, while not calling the document into question, endeavour from time to time to put it to the test. I refer to actions that violate the bedrock thesis of the quadripartite agreement, which states that West Berlin is not part of the F.R.G. Actually, that thesis has contributed to the city's positive development, which is why we are trying to do all we can to stop this core of the agreement being swept under the carpet."

The quadripartite agreement marked the start of the city's emergence from political and economic isolation. Here are a few figures to illustrate growing ties between West Berlin and the U.S.S.R. From 1972 to 1984, the number of West Berliners visiting the U.S.S.R. as tourists multiplied 30-fold. Last year more than 32,000 came here, while this year, Intourist staff in West Berlin believe, the figure will be several thousand higher.

Over the past 15 years, trade between the U.S.S.R. and West Berlin increased more than 15-fold, to exceed a total of 400 million rubles last year. Overall, as a partner in trade with the U.S.S.R., the city is ahead of Norway, Denmark or Portugal.

The new targets set by the CPSU at its 27th Congress for Soviet economic advancement hold out many new options for small and medium-sized firms, including those in West Berlin. Whereas only a large concern can build and fully equip a new enterprise, smaller firms can easily cope with the modernization of plants that are already operational. West Berlin firms are helping to technically reequip plants in many Soviet cities—Leningrad, Kalinin, Minsk and Riga. In a number of cases the work will be paid for with a share in the new items to be manufactured at these enterprises. The establishment of joint enterprises and mixed companies is under discussion. Cooperation is getting under way with West Berlin banks which are now more willing to give credit to West Berlin firms undertaking modernization projects in the Soviet Union.

The gleaming chromium-plated lift delivered me to the floor of the skyscraper on the Ernst-Reuter-Platz, where the management of the Berlin-Consult firm has its offices. Your correspondent was received in a spacious office with windows running the whole length of the wall, upholstered chairs and an impeccably ordered desk by one of the firm's top executives, Günter Fucht, who controls operations with the socialist countries. I was offered the inevitable cup of steaming, fragrant coffee.

"We have been maintaining close contacts with Soviet partners, our firm's biggest clients, for several years now," he said. "We are currently engaged on two projects, one in Moscow, to launch the output of ready-to-cook frozen foods, the second in Zaporozhye, where our technology is to be employed to manufacture magnetic heads for tape recorders. We are pleased with the way things are going; they have been going well in recent years. We are trusted, and, I think, with good reason as the jobs we do are high-tech."

"Why did you choose the Soviet Union as your field?"

"The Soviet market offers us, and all West Berlin firms for that matter, long-term prospects provided, of course, that our Soviet partners are happy with what we do. We want to win confidence not only for a current contract, but for years ahead, which is not always easy, as we have many competitors with some foreign giants having as many as 30 to 40 years of experience in cooperation with your country."

"How do you think the quadripartite agreement has contributed to the development of economic ties between the U.S.S.R. and West Berlin?"

"The signing of the agreement rep-

resented a positive move towards progress in our relationships."

* * *

There are some international agreements which play a preeminent, indeed, crucial role in our complex world. One is the quadripartite agreement, an example of the policy of common sense and sober realism that characterized détente. It demonstrated that even the most intricate problems can be resolved, given good will. It is surely an example for the present day.

The quadripartite agreement is a strictly tried and tested balance of the interests and positions of the different sides. But like any balance, it will maintain its position only if the scales are in equilibrium. The structure of the agreement rests on several foundations. If one is destroyed, the structure will list dangerously. It may then collapse.

N. ZHOLKVER
our special correspondent

West Berlin—Moscow

But even today some Western politicians would like West Berlin to remain a "frontline city." And so

The Provocations Continue

Many fine words have been said in the West in praise of the quadripartite agreement. There is no shortage, either, of assurances that the West is prepared to adhere to the spirit and letter of the understandings to which it was party. However, in practice, steps are taken—and in this the F.R.G. is particularly energetic—that clash with the agreement's provisions. Their aim, however much it may be camouflaged, is clear—to tip the balance in its own favour and circumvent the provisions reaffirming West Berlin's status as a city which is independent of and separate from the F.R.G.

In the 14th annual report by the West Berlin Senate on the implementation of the four-power agreement and its annexes, the agreement's positive and stabilizing impact is emphasized. Yet a page or two later we find it insisting upon some "special" relationship between West Berlin and the F.R.G., and affirming that only "bonds with the Federation" plus the guarantees of the three Western powers give security and viability.

All those who are reluctant to reconcile themselves with the quadripartite agreement's bedrock provisions bend over backwards to emasculate and subvert it, and create the impression by means of illegal protest demonstrations, that the reverse is the case.

How then is one to see the various events in West Berlin in connection with the F.R.G.'s lands? What have they to do with West Berlin, which is not part of the Federal Republic?

Landtag committees for internal affairs and economic and cultural matters continue to sit regularly in West Berlin. The political factions of the Landtags meet there. The minister-presidents and ministers of West German lands regularly confer there. Again, as in numerous other cases, these amount to blatant political demonstration.

Such demonstrations are especially disturbing when timed to coincide with commemorations that are sacrosanct for all of us. Last year, which saw the 40th anniversary of V-day, placed a particular obligation on the living to pay tribute to the memory of all who fell in the struggle against fascism. All the more unseemly therefore the strivings of the ruling circles in the F.R.G. and West Berlin to exploit for their own purposes the anniversary of the attempted assassination of Hitler on July 20, 1944. None other than Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl himself invited guests to the West Berlin rally. This was tantamount to inviting people to visit one's neighbour. The main speaker there was a Bonn minister notorious for his inflammatory harangues and calls to "keep the German question open" and remember that "Berlin is a symbol of German unity."

Is there any sense in still "reserving" seats in the West Berlin parliament for representatives of the population of the capital of the G.D.R. allegedly deprived of opportunity to vote in elections?

The West German authorities are obstinately attempting in effect to incorporate West Berlin in their country's stage legal system, invoking at every turn a certain "state-legal unity between the city and the federation." Further attempts are made to involve West Berlin, as an appendage of the F.R.G., in the processes of Western Europe's state political integration.

Bonn has perpetrated many violations of the quadripartite agreement. Statesmen visiting the F.R.G. still have mandatory trips to West Berlin as part of their itineraries. Though in themselves such visits are routine, the federal authorities desire to have them incorporated in official visits and to create the impression that West Berlin is part of the F.R.G.

The F.R.G. is extending its laws to West Berlin to ensure what it calls "legal unity." Attempts are likewise made to extend to it all the international treaties and agreements that the F.R.G. signs. Thus, having itself subscribed to "star wars" plans, the F.R.G. is seeking unremittingly to get West Berlin to work for SDI as well. They forget that the city is a demilitarized zone and cannot therefore be enlisted in any arms project.

West German SDI supporters trot out the excuse that West Berlin is to be incorporated only in the "overall agreement" for the exchange of technological know-how, not in the agreement involving West German firms in "star wars" research. This is mere excuse. The agreement referred to is concluded simultaneously and in direct connection with that relating to SDI, and necessarily bears upon security and is, consequently, one of those international agreements which the F.R.G. may not extend to West Berlin. Hence, attempts to involve West Berlin in SDI operations directly conflict with the quadripartite agreement, which clearly specifies that its signatories "will strive to promote the elimination of tension and the prevention of complications in the relevant area."

As regards violations of the quadripartite agreement, the stance of the U.S., the U.K. and France should be noted. Only rarely do they check Bonn's activities. More often than not they connive at its illegal actions or even incite such actions as, for instance, on

the eve of the 25th anniversary of the Berlin wall. Interviewed by Springer's Bild-Zeitung, U.S. President Reagan directly called for the destruction of the wall and an end to "the unnatural division" of Europe. West Berlin and West German reaction was by no means tardy in mounting a series of provocations on the G.D.R. state border, along with a revanchist orgy in the former Reichstag building. Harangues were delivered by F.R.G. officials, including the Federal Chancellor, who visited West Berlin as if it were their home. Yet again there was talk of the "German question being open" and debates about a "single German nation."

The G.D.R. Foreign Ministry lodged a protest with the West Berlin Senate, whose police calmly looked on at the border excesses. It demanded compensation for the damage, which went beyond the destruction of the frontier installations. Indeed, the purpose of all these actions is to exacerbate the situation around West Berlin, and this seriously jeopardizes the positive balance of the quadripartite agreement. In its August 12, 1986, statement the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs declares that it is obvious that this hostile campaign is contaminating the atmosphere in and around the city and is incompatible with the maintenance of a tranquil normal situation there. Part of the responsibility also lies with the U.S., the U.K. and French authorities who should, according to the agreement, serve to prevent complications and tension in West Berlin.

The Soviet Union has no intention of overlooking the assaults on the balance of interests invested in the quadripartite agreement. In its response, correlating firmness with political expediency, the Soviet Union leaves no doubt that it and its allies have adequate and varied means to prevent their interests being infringed upon. The U.S.S.R. does not want complications in West Berlin. The situation around the city has been explosive for too long, and a common denominator of interests was extremely difficult to evolve. The only way to prevent friction in the area is the strict observance and full implementation of all the provisions of the September 3, 1971, quadripartite agreement.

D. TULCHINSKY

APPOINTMENTS

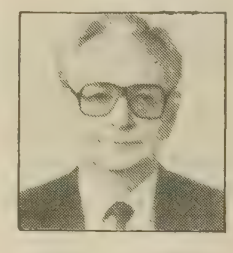
Pavel Petrovich MOZHAYEV

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Afghanistan

Pavel Mozhayev, a Russian, was born on July 6, 1930, in Gatchina, Leningrad Region. In 1953 he graduated from the Leningrad Institute of Technology. A member of the Communist Party since 1958, he is at present an alternate member of the Party's Central Committee and a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

Between 1953 and 1962 Mozhayev held various posts in economic, Party and government bodies in Leningrad. From 1962 to 1970 he was successively second and first secretary of the Kirov District Party committee of the city, and from 1970 to 1983, a senior functionary in the Leningrad Region committee of the Party, working as its secretary in 1983-84 and second secretary in 1984-86.

Pavel Mozhayev has been awarded the Order of the October Revolution, the Order of the Red Banner of Labour (three times), and several decorations.



Gennady Kirillovich ZHURAVLEV

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Egypt

Gennady Zhuravlev, a Russian, was born on June 12, 1924, in the village of Repotino in the Shakhovskaya District, Moscow Region. He has been a member of the Communist Party since 1947.

On graduating from the Institute of Foreign Trade in 1948, Zhuravlev was employed in the service under the Foreign Trade Ministry, working as a head of department at the Chief Customs Board of the ministry from 1953 to 1956 and on the staff of the ministry proper from 1956 to 1958. From 1958 to 1960 he was first secretary at the trade mission attached to the Soviet embassy in the United States. From 1960 to 1963 and from 1965 to 1970 Zhuravlev worked in the Party's Central Committee office, serving as a counsellor at the Soviet embassy in Egypt between 1963 and 1965. In 1970 he was appointed head of a board and a member of the collegium of the Foreign Trade Ministry. From 1970 to 1981 he worked as a deputy and from 1981 to 1986 as first deputy foreign trade minister.

Gennady Zhuravlev has been awarded the Order of the October Revolution, the Order of the Red Banner of Labour (twice), the Badge of Honour Order, and a decoration.

Vladimir Maximovich GONCHARENKO

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Venezuela

Vladimir Goncharenko, a Ukrainian, was born on August 1, 1928, in Krovnoye village in the Sumy District, Sumy Region, in the Ukraine. A member of the Communist Party since 1950, he graduated from Moscow University in 1960 and from the Higher Diplomatic School of the Foreign Ministry in 1964.

He began working in 1945 and joined the diplomatic service in 1961, holding the posts of third and second secretary at the Soviet embassy in Mexico from 1964 to 1968, second secretary at the Latin American Department of the Foreign Ministry in 1968-69, first secretary and counsellor at the Soviet embassy in Cuba from 1970 to 1976, head of a sector at the Foreign Ministry's Latin American Department in 1976-80, minister-counsellor at the Soviet embassy in Cuba in 1980-83, and deputy head of the Foreign Ministry's First Latin American Department in 1983-86.

Goncharenko has been awarded several decorations.

Vadim Grigoryevich CHEKMAZOV

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Ecuador

Vadim Chekmazov, a Russian, was born in Moscow on April 4, 1930. In 1953 he graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations and in 1965 from the Higher Diplomatic School of the Foreign Ministry. He has been a member of the Communist Party since 1958.

After graduating from the institute, Chekmazov worked in the Foreign Ministry; he was head of the consular office at the Soviet embassy in Cuba in 1960-63, first secretary at the ministry's Latin American Department in 1967-69, first secretary and then counsellor at the Soviet embassy in Argentina from 1969 to 1975, counsellor at the ministry's Latin American Department in 1975-76, minister-counsellor at the Soviet embassy in Angola from 1976 to 1980, and deputy head of the Second Latin American Department from 1981 to 1986.

Vadim Chekmazov has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour and several decorations.

Soviet Circus to Tour Equatorial Africa

The circus is a festival of music and laughter, of physical prowess, agility and elegance. Of heart-stopping turns by acrobats and equilibrists, of the virtuosity of conjurors who can pull practically anything out of a hat—from matches to fluffy chicks. Risk, courage, the ability to perform incredible feats within the power at times of only two or three individuals in all the world. In a word, the circus!

On October 10 the Soviet Circus on the Stage troupe will begin its tour of Southwest Africa in Konakri. After touring Guinea, the company of 25 artistes will go on to Niger, Ghana and Cameroon, giving about ten performances in each country.

African audiences will be treated to a wide variety of incredible trapeze work and other acrobatic performances that defy the laws of gravity.

The equilibrists Olga and Alexander Pugach, for instance, who won honours at the 12th World Youth and Student Festival in Moscow, will perform all kinds of tricks on metal rollers, balancing on a pyramid consisting of as many as five rollers.

Then there is Natalia Dyagileva who performs a Hula Hoop dance with not one but eight hoops at once, gracefully executing some complicated gymnastics at the same time.

The bicycle act by Lyudmila and Sergei Zuyev invariably brings the house down. Singly and together they perform a veritable cascade of tricks on bicycles and motorcycles, tricks that would make world professional champions green with envy.

Anatoly Azarov's strong-man turns, one of them executed standing on his hands with a 64-kilogramme weight held between his teeth, are fascinating to watch.

Other breath-taking displays of gymnastic and acrobatic skill will be presented by Lyudmila Azarova, the Kiselevs, Alexander and Tatyana Provatorov, Peter Soruchan's group, and by Nadezhda Sychinskaya. Then there are the clowns—Zuyev and Provatorov, with their rollicking antics, jokes and skits, without which no circus is complete.

The main purpose of such foreign contacts is to improve mutual understanding between peoples in the name of peace. Our country maintains cultural ties with 30 African countries. These include exchanges of artistes and exhibitions, help by Soviet specialists in training national artistes, etc. Here are a few examples of these contacts. In 1985 the Lola dance group of the Tajik Republic toured Angola; the Leningrad Circus on the Stage troupe visited Zaire, Congo, Nigeria, Angola and Togo; the Strelchenko ensemble performed in Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands; the Gunesh pop group from the Turkmenian Republic, in Mozambique; the Blue Bird ensemble in Tanzania, Ethiopia and the Seychelles, the Moscow Military District song and dance troupe, in Madagascar and Mauritius, and a group of conjurors and jugglers, in Kenya. That same year the Togo national ballet toured the Soviet Union, and exhibitions of the modern and traditional art of Zimbabwe and the applied arts of Ethiopia were held here.

V. BENYUKH

Olga and Alexander Pugach display their virtuosity.

The First Heroes of the Republic

In recognition of services in defending the achievements of the April Revolution, the Revolutionary Council of Afghanistan awarded the title of Hero to three units: the 37th airborne assault brigade, the 322nd fighter regiment of the Air Force and the 2nd Borderguards Brigade. The title of Hero of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was instituted. The first Heroes named were Faiz Mohammad, former Central Committee member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and Minister for the Affairs of Nationalities and Tribes (posthumously), Major General Ahmaduddin (posthumously), Air Force Captain Sherzamin Sherzoy, and Lieutenant Juma Khan of the paratroopers.

I did not see the Air Force report to the Revolutionary Council of Afghanistan recommending Sherzamin Sherzoy for the title of Hero. But I know him personally and I can imagine the citation.

Age 26. Born in Kunduz Province into a peasant family. In 1979 finished secondary school in Afghanistan. Trained in a flying school in Krasnodar, U.S.S.R. Since then has been on active service. Has logged up more than 600 flying hours and more than 200 combat missions.

To give the reader a feel of what stands behind this dry factual information, let me describe one day in the life of this valiant man.

Events that morning developed at a dizzying pace. The commander of the 355th Air Regiment summoned four airmen.

"Reconnaissance reports that a large band has crossed the border near the town of Khost, Paktia Province. They are pitching camp, building arms and ammunition dumps. Your mission is to disrupt their plans."

Four planes took off at nine. Dropping to an altitude of 800 metres the airmen covered the target with fire. Sherzamin Sherzoy mentally patted himself on the back—his rockets were dead on—and started to climb. Flak from the bandits was heavy. Suddenly Sherzoy's plane shook, and he felt a sharp pain in his right arm. Having lost control, the plane plummeted and crashed into a rock seconds after the pilot pushed the ejector button. From the height to which he was ejected he could see a pillar of flame and thick smoke.

As became clear later, the airmen, in the heat of the battle, had not noticed that their friend had baled out. But they saw the plane hit the rock and explode. To avenge the death of their friend, they flew over the camp again and again, defying fire from the ground. But for this, the bandits would have seized Sherzoy as soon as he landed some 300 or 400 metres from the camp.

Hiding his parachute and helmet in the rocks, Sherzoy made off in the direction of Khost which was about 30 kilometres away. But he had run for only a few minutes before he had to stop to rest. His boots had been torn off his feet when he baled out and it was hard to run over sharp stones in his socks.

He bandaged his fractured palm with a handkerchief. His thighs, lacerated with small fragments, bled, soaking his trousers.

The battle was over. His friends, having emptied their guns, flew back to base. He had to hurry. Some of the hundreds of bandits must have noticed the parachute.

He walked on expecting the cry of "Stop!" from behind him at any moment. Suddenly a sharp pain pierced his right foot. It was a blackthorn thistle. A blackthorn growth stretched as far as the eye could see. The ground was strewn with thistles.

By two o'clock his bare feet (there was nothing left of his socks) ached terribly. They were swollen and blue, and left a trail of blood. His mouth was dry and his tongue swollen.

He lost consciousness for the first time. He came to, a monotonous hammering at the back of his head and at his temples. In spite of himself, a call for water escaped from his parched lips.

Through the dull pain that paralyzed his body, a simple yet somehow calming thought stubbornly surfaced: give up, stop this useless trek. You can't walk another mile. Close your eyes and sleep. The sun will quickly do the rest. Only don't forget to destroy your flight papers and map before you lose consciousness.

He cut this train of thought, lifted himself up and took a step, then another, and another. He heard voices and hid behind a rock. He had done the right thing. A group of about twelve armed men in mufti moved past him. They were not looking for him, as they were moving in the opposite direction, from Khost. Sherzoy looked at their feet. They wore strong Pakistani-made army boots. He had often seen such boots on bandits they had caught.

It is hard to say how many times he lost consciousness. At nine in the evening he thought he was going mad: he saw stars shining on the ground right in front of him. He threw his head back to look at the sky, and there were stars there too. Could it be...? He took a few steps and dropped into a small lake.

When he came to, he felt cold. Half of his body was under water. "Good job it's shallow," he thought. "Good luck again. Things have been going my way all day."

It was midnight when Sherzoy reached an Afghan army post eight kilometres from Khost. He did not walk, he crawled.

"Comrades," he moaned. They fixed him with a spotlight and ordered: "Hands up and move towards us. Who are you?"

"I'm an airman.... A friend.... They shot my plane down."

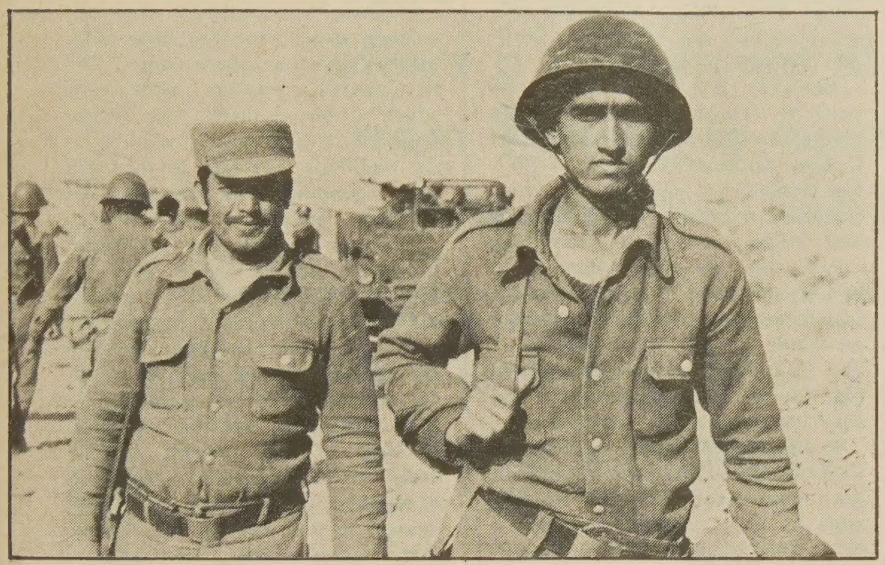
The soldiers already knew what had happened on the border. They regarded the newcomer with surprise and horror. His clothes and skin were torn and covered with dried blood.

The post commander spent all night removing thorns from his feet. At six in the morning a helicopter came to pick him up and an hour later he was taken to Kabul aboard a plane specially sent for him.

I met Sherzoy a year after that spring battle. Doctors, among whom were some from the Soviet Union, had helped him recover. True, he still had some difficulty with his right palm which had undergone four operations.

An Afghan Red Banner Order shone on his spick-and-span captain's uniform (Sherzoy was a senior lieutenant when he went on that mission). "Where do you serve now?" I asked. "In the air force of course," he smiled. "At the moment I am in transport aviation ferrying soldiers, ammunition and arms. But I am serving the revolution all the same."

The 37th airborne assault brigade also has won glory near Khost, although missions take its men all over the country.



Men of the heroic 37th airborne brigade.

Photo by author

For several years the bandits had been building up a powerful military and supply base around Khost: training camps with proving ranges, lines of fortifications, endless arms dumps and stores.

The border district of Khost is the stomping ground of Jalaluddin, a representative and personal friend of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, leader of the counterrevolutionary Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA). He heads the IPA armed units. Several years ago Jalaluddin feigned repentance and said he wanted to make peace with the people's government. This cost the life of Faiz Mohammad, the then Minister for the Affairs of the Nationalities and Tribes of the D.R.A., who fell into the bandit's trap. They say Jalaluddin personally stabbed him to death when he came to his camp for negotiations. Faiz Mohammad has been posthumously awarded the title of Hero of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Last year, in the course of the now famous Khost operation, Afghan army units converged from four sides crushing the enemy in his lair. The bandits surrendered their bases and arms cachés and sustained heavy losses. All in all, at least 2,400 bandits were killed in the Khost operation. Among them were 12 deputies and commanders close to Jalaluddin, including his own brother.

The 37th brigade was assigned to a mopping up mission to the north of Khost. Fighting was fierce. Assistance to the bandits poured in from Pakistan.

In one episode, the brigade was to capture a small but important height from which the bandits conducted dense and well-aimed mortar fire against Khost. The paratroops, led by commander of the political department Lt.-Col. Abdul Zargun, stormed the height for two days.

"The enemy offered fierce resistance," Zargun told me. "The reason for their stiff resistance became clear when, several artillery barrages and air raids later, the height was seized: there were thirteen arms and ammunition dumps in mountain shelters and crevasses."

Having received reinforcements, the enemy decided to seize back the stocks as the troopers were bringing them down from the mountains. They opened heavy fire from grenade throwers and machine guns on their former position. Abdul Zargun was wounded in the arm (twice) and in the head. He was short of men and the situation was becoming critical. But he would not contemplate giving the arms back to the bandits. Losing consciousness, he ordered that the dumps be blown up. One after another, thirteen explosions were heard. Realizing there were no more dumps, the bandits retired.

It was in this battle that 22-year-old Sergeant Juma Khan—a fearless and tireless fighter—distinguished himself. He was commissioned and put in command of a platoon. Now his fearlessness and quick-wittedness has earned him the highest distinction—he is the Hero of the D.R.A.

The Khost operation last year was the first major military action the Afghan army undertook independently, without any backing from Soviet troops. Afghan regular troops are displaying growing initiative and skill.

The D.R.A.'s armed forces are growing stronger in morale and organization, and are becoming more mobile and effective. They can now tackle major operational and tactical objectives to protect the Afghan people against those who seek to turn back the wheel of history.

G. USTINOV

Kabul—Moscow

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TAKING UP A POINT

I have read in the newspapers that in the Asian regions of your country you are experiencing a demographic explosion. As far as one can judge, in the foreseeable future the majority of the Soviet population will be not Russians as they are now, but Moslem Asiatics. What about national differences?

Paul TEETER
Montreal, Canada

Novosti Press Agency news analyst LEV BOBROV replies:

There is nothing new in the subject you have raised. The French sociologist Alexandr Bennigsen insists in Le Figaro that in the Soviet Asian republics the Russian and Moslem populations live apart, that they do not mix and dislike one another. It is even said that the Soviet Moslem territories are permanently smoking volcanoes.

No doubt that M. Bennigsen's "information" and "conclusions" are many decades old. Notions such as "Moslem territories" and "national strife" with which this French sociologist still juggles have long been consigned to oblivion. Today, as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we can speak not of the separateness of peoples, but of the beginnings of their effective fusion. Soviet citizens are settling increasingly over the length and breadth of our socialist state, regardless of the different national areas. Indeed, today one in four Tajiks lives outside the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, while one in seven Uzbeks and one in nine Kirghizes is to be found outside the boundaries of their national republics. At the same time millions of Soviet citizens of different nationalities are to be seen living in peace and friendship alongside the indigenous populations of the Central Asian republics. Nobody oppresses, suppresses, exploits anyone or experiences "national strife." Nor is there any religious conflict, any Moslem or Christian "fanaticism."

However, that has not always been the case. Eternal national strife was eradicated only after the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917. The Soviet state outlawed the propagation of racial, ethnic, national and religious animosity. Everything conceivable has always been done and is continuing to be done to ensure the unhampered development of all ethnic groups, large and small. The flourishing of national cultures has always been encouraged and their interconnections consolidated.

In its political report to the 27th CPSU Congress, the Central Committee emphasized the vast significance for the Soviet multinational state of the development of relationships between nations.

"The groundwork for solving the nationalities problem in our country was laid by the Great October Socialist Revolution," the document notes. "Relying on Lenin's doctrine and on the achievements of socialism, the Communist Party has wrought enormous changes in this area. The results are an outstanding gain for socialism which has enriched world civilization. National oppression and inequality of all types and forms have been definitively abolished. The indissoluble friendship of nations and respect for the national culture and dignity of all peoples have taken firm root in the minds of millions of people."

One significant point is the steady increase in mixed marriages in the U.S.S.R. In 1925, only one in forty marriages was of this order, but less than fifty years later the figure was one in ten, while in many cities it was even one in four. Today we have some seventy million families as compared with fifty million a quarter of a century ago. However, the number of families in which the spouses are of different ethnic origins has almost doubled over this period, to reach ten million, accounting for one in seven families instead of one in ten before.

Western "Sovietologists" love speculating about what they have termed the "Tajikistan phenomenon" with its annually growing birth rate, which now accounts for 40 per thousand. This is due not only to local traditions, but also to the very good conditions the state provides for large families in terms of supplementary benefits and privileges. It should also be noted that it is Tajikistan that has the U.S.S.R's highest proportion of country-dwellers per head of the population, with 66 per cent of its total population living outside the towns; moreover, in rural areas the tradition of large families is more common than in urban areas. Incidentally, speaking of statistics, it would not be without interest to note that in the Central Asian republics the urban population, which accounts for between 34 and 47 per cent of the total, is thus proportionately far lower than in the Russian Federation, where the urban population accounts for 73 per cent of the total, and the Soviet average, which is more than 65 per cent. The influx into urban areas of part of the rural population also affects demographic trends. Thus, in Azerbaijan birth rates are now down to 27 per thousand instead of the 1960 figure of 43. In Kazakhstan, the rate has dropped from 37 to 25; roughly the same picture is to be observed in Uzbekistan, Turkmenia and Kirghizia.

Of course, the development of so large a multinational state as the U.S.S.R. cannot but engender problems. However, they are always out in the open, and experience indicates that they are being dealt with successfully. The approach is well known. Though we are against any artificial erasure of specific national features, we cannot tolerate their artificial inflation. ■

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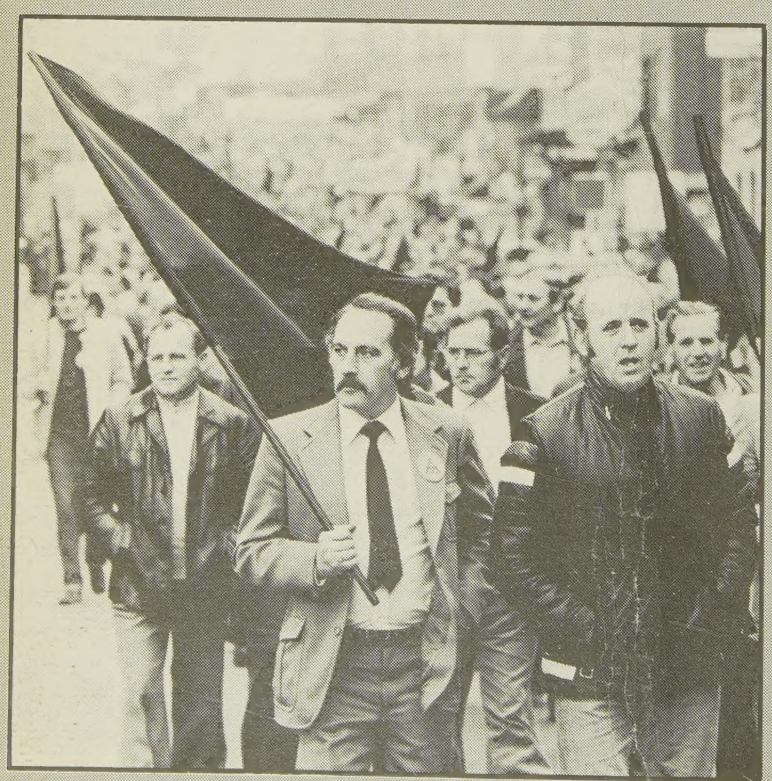

INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE PHOTO AND GRAPHICS CONTEST

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